

A  
Discourse of the Nature,  
Offices and Measures of  
Friendship,

With  
Rules of conducting it.

Written in answer to a Letter from  
the most ingenious and vertuous

M. K. P.

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By J. T. D.D.

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Ὅποσοις ἂν τις ἢ κεκλημένος ἑταίρος  
τοσέτοις μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἄδῃ βλέπῃ.

Dion. orat. 1. de regno.

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LONDON,  
Printed for R. Royston at the Angel  
in Ivie-lane. 1657.

Office of the  
Commissioner of the  
General Land Office

Washington, D.C.  
April 10, 1880





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**To which are added  
Two Letters written to per-  
sons newly changed in their  
Religion.**

**The first to a Gentlewoman sedu-  
ced to the Roman Church,**

**The other to a person returning to the  
Church of *England*.**

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**By J. T. D.D.**

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*Volo Solidum Perenne.*

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*A Discourse of the Nature and Offices of Friendship.*

In a Letter to the most ingenious and excellent  
M. K. P.

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*Madam,*



He wise *Bensirach* advised that we should not consult with a woman concerning her of whom she is jealous, neither with a coward in matters of warr, nor with a merchant concerning exchange; and some other instances

B

he

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he gives of interested persons, to whom he would not have us hearken in any matter of Counsel. For where ever the interest is *secular* or *vitious*, there the bias is not on the side of *truth* or *reason*, because *these* are seldome serv'd by profit and low regards. But to consult with a friend in the matters of friendship is like consulting with a spiritual person in Religion; they who understand the secrets of Religion, or the interior beauties of friendship are the fittest to give answers in all inquiries concerning the respective subjects; because *reason* and *experience* are on the side of *interest*; and that which in friendship is most *pleasing*, and most *useful* is also most *reasonable* and most *true*; and a friends fairest interest is the best measure of the conducting friendships; and therefore you who are so eminent in friendships could also have

have given the best answer to your own inquiries, and you could have trusted your own reason, because it is not only greatly instructed by the direct notices of things, but also by great experience in the matter of which you now inquire.

But because I will not use anything that shall look like an excuse, I will rather give you such an account which you can easily reprove, then by declining your commands, seem more safe in my prudence, then open and communicative in my friendship to you.

You first inquire how far a Dear and a perfect friendship is authoriz'd by the principles of Christianity?

To this I answer; that the word [*Friendship*] in the sense we commonly mean by it, is not so much as nam'd in the New-Testament; and our Religion takes no notice of

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it. You think it strange; but read on before you spend so much as the beginning of a passion or a wonder upon it. There is mention of [*friendship of the world,*] and it is said to be *enmity with God*; but the word is no where else named, or to any other purpose in all the New Testament. It speaks of friends often; but by *friends* are meant, our acquaintance, or our Kindred, the relatives of our family or our fortune, or our sect; something of society, or something of kindness there is in it; a tenderness of appellation and Civility, a relation made by gifts, or by duty, by services and subjection; and I think, I have reason to be confident, that the word *friend* (speaking of humane intercourse) is no otherwayes used in the Gospels or Epistles, or Acts of the Apostles; and the reason of it is, the word

*friend*

friend is of a large signification; and means all relations and societies, and whatsoever is not enemy; but by friendships, I suppose you mean, the greatest love, and the greatest usefulness, and the most open communication, and the noblest sufferings and the most exemplar faithfulness, and the severest truth, and the heartiest counsel, and the greatest union of minds, of which brave men and women are capable. But then I must tell you that Christianity hath new Christened it, and calls this Charity. The Christian knows no enemy he hath; that is, though persons may be injurious to him, and unworthy in themselves, yet he knows none whom he is not first bound to forgive which is indeed to make them on his part to be no enemies, that is, to make that the word enemy shall not be perfectly contrary to friend, it shall not be a

relative term and signifie something on each hand, a *relative* and a *correlative*; and then he knows none whom he is not bound to love and pray for, to treat kindly and justly, liberally and obligingly. Christian Charity is friendship to all the world; and when friendships were the noblest things in the world, charity was little, like the sunne drawn in at a chinke, or his beames drawn into the Centre of a burning-glass; but Christian charity is friendship, expanded like the face of the sunne when it mounts above the Eastern hills: and I was strangely pleas'd when I saw something of this in *Cicero*; for I have been so push'd at by herds and flocks of people that follow any body that whistles to them, or drives them to pasture, that I am grown afraid of any truth that seems chargeable with singularity: but therefore I say,



say, glad I was when I saw *Laelius* in *Cicero* discourse thus. *Amicitia ex infinitate generis humani quam conciliavit ipsa natura, contracta res est, & adducta in angustum; ut omnis charitas, aut inter duos, aut inter paucos jungeretur.* Nature hath made friendships, and societies, relations and endearments; and by something or other we relate to all the world; there is enough in every man that is willing, to make him become our friend; but when men contract friendships, they inclose the Commons; and what Nature intended should be every mans, we make proper to two or three. Friendship is like rivers and the strand of seas, and the ayre, common to all the world; but Tyrants, and evil customes, warrs, and want of love have made them proper and peculiar. But when Christianity came to renew our na-

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ture, and to restore our lawes, and to increase her priviledges, and to make her aptness to become religion, then it was declared that our friendships were to be as universal as our conversation ; that is, *actual* to all with whom we converse, and *potentially extended* unto those with whom we did not. For he who was to treat his enemies with forgiveness and prayers, and love and beneficence was indeed to have no enemies, and to have all friends.

— So that to your question, how far a Dear and perfect friendship is authoris'd by the principles of Christianity ? The answer is ready and easy. It is warranted to extend to all mankind ; and the more we love, the better we are, and the greater our friendships are, the dearer we are to God ; let them be as Dear, and let them be as perfect, and let them be as many as  
 you

you can; there is no danger in it; only where the restraint begins, there begins our imperfection; it is not ill that you entertain brave friendships and worthy societies: it were well if you could *love*, and if you could *benefit* all mankind; for I conceive that is the sum of all friendships.

I confess this is not to be expected of us in this world; but as all our graces here are but imperfect, that is, at the best they are but tendencies to glory, so our friendships are imperfect too, and but beginnings of a celestial friendship, by which we shall love every one as much as they can be loved. But then so we must here *in our proportion*; and indeed that is it that can make the difference; we must be friends to all: That is, apt to do good, loving them really, and doing to them all the benefits which

we can, and which they are capable of. The friendship is equal to all the world, and of it selfe hath no difference; but is differenc'd only by accidents and by the capacity or incapacity of them that receive it: *Nature* and the *Religion* are the *bands* of friendships; *excellency* and *usefulness* are its great *indearments*: *society* and *neighbourhood*, that is, the possibilities and the circumstances of converse are the *determinations* and *actualities* of it. Now when men either are unnatural, or irreligious, they *will not* be friends; when they are neither excellent nor useful, they *are not worthy* to be friends; when they are strangers or unknown, they *cannot* be friends actually and practically; but yet, as any man hath any thing of the good, contrary to those evils, he can have and must have his share of friendship. For thus the  
Sun.

Sun is the eye of the World ; and he is indifferent to the Negro, or the cold Russian, to them that dwell under the line, and them that stand neer the Tropicks, the scalded Indian or the poor boy that shakes at the foot of the Riphean hills ; but the fluxures of the heaven and the earth, the conveniency of abroad, and the approaches to the North or South respectively change the emanations of his beams ; not that they do not pass alwayes from him, but that they are not equally received below, but by periods and changes, by little inlets and reflections, they receive what they can ; and some have only a dark day and a long night from him, snowes and white cattel, a miserable life, and a perpetual harvest of Catarrhes and consumptions, apoplexies and dead-palsies ; but some have splendid  
fires,

fires, and aromattick spices, rich wines, and well digested fruits, great wit and great courage; because they dwell in his eye, and look in his face, and are the Courtiers of the Sun, and wait upon him in his Chambers of the East; just so is it in friendships: some are worthy, and some are necessary; some dwell hard by and are fitted for converse; Nature joyns some to us, and Religion combines us with others; society and accidents, parity of fortune, and equal dispositions do actuate our friendships: which of themselves and in their prime disposition are prepared for all mankind according as any one can receive them. We see this best exemplified by two instances and expressions of friendships and charity: *viz. Almes and Prayers*; Every one that needs relief is equally the object of our charity; but

but though to all mankind in equal needs we ought to be alike in charity ; yet we signifie this severally and by limits , and distinct measures : the poor man that is near me , he whom I meet , he whom I love , he whom I fancy , he who did me benefit , he who relates to my family , he rather then another , because my expressions being finite and narrow , and cannot extend to all in equal significations , must be appropriate to those whose circumstances best fit me : and yet even to all I give my almes : to all the world that needs them ; I pray for all mankind , I am grieved at every sad story I hear ; I am troubled when I hear of a pretty bride murdered in her bride-chamber by an ambitious and enrag'd Rival ; I shed a tear when I am told that a brave King was misunderstood , then slandered , then imprisoned ,

prisoned, and then put to death by evil men: and I can never read the story of the Parisian Massacre, or the Sicilian vespers, but my blood curdles and I am disorder'd by two or three affections. A good man is a friend to all the world; and he is not truly charitable that does not wish well, and do good to all mankind in what he can; but though we must pray for all men, yet we say speciall Letanies for brave Kings and holy Prelates, and the wise Guides of souls; for our Brethren and Relations, our Wives and Children.

The effect of this consideration is, that the Universal friendship of which I speak, must be *limited*, because *we are so*: In those things where we stand next to immensity and infinity, as in good wishes and prayers, and a *readiness* to benefit all mankind, in these our friendships



ships must not be limited; but in other things which pass under our hand or eye, our voices and our material exchanges, our hands can reach no further, but to our arms end, and our voices can but sound till the next air be quiet, and therefore they can have intercourse but within the sphere of their own activity; our needs and our conversations are served by a few, and they cannot reach to all; where they can, they must; but *where it is impossible it cannot be necessary.* It must therefore follow, that our friendships to mankind may admit variety as does our conversation; and as by nature we are made *social* to all, so we are *friendly*; but as all cannot actually be of our society, so neither can all be admitted to a speciall, actual friendship; Of *some* *intercourses* all men are capable, but *not of all*; Men  
can

can pray for one another, and abstain from doing injuries to all the world, and be desirous to do all mankind good, and love all men; Now this friendship we must pay to all because we can, but if we can do no more to all, we must shew our readinesse to do more good to all by actually doing more good to all them to whom we can.

To some we can, and therefore there are nearer friendships to some then to others, according as there are natural or civil nearnesses, relations and societies; and as I cannot expresse my friendships to all in equal measures and significations, that is, as I cannot do benefits to all alike, so neither am I tied to love all alike: for although there is much reason to love every man; yet there are more reasons to love some then others, and if I  
must

must love because there is reason I should; then I must *love more*, where there is *more reason*; and where there's a special affection and a great readiness to do good and to delight in certain persons towards each other, there is that special charity and indearment which Philosophy calls *friendships*; but our Religion calls *love* or *charity*. Now if the inquiry be concerning this special friendship, 1. *how it can be appropriate*, that is, who to be chosen to it; 2. *how far it may extend*; that is, with what expressions signified; 3. *how conducted*? The answers will depend upon such considerations which will be neither useless nor unpleasant.

1. There may be a special friendship contracted for any special excellency whatsoever, because *friendships are nothing but love and society mixt together*; that is, *a conversing with*

with them whom we love; now for whatsoever we can love any one, for that we can be his friend; and since every excellency is a degree of amability, every such worthiness is a just and proper motive of friendship, or loving conversation. But yet in these things there is an order and proportion. Therefore

2. A Good man is the best friend, and therefore soonest to be chosen, longer to be retain'd; and indeed never to be parted with; unless he cease to be that for which he was chosen.

Τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὴ ποιεῖ φίλον  
ὅστις ἀρεῖται

Μήποτε τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποι-  
εῖναι ἐταῖρον.

Where vertue dwells there friend-  
ships make,

But evil neighbourhoods forsake.

But

But although vertue alone is the worthiest cause of amability, and can weigh down any one consideration ; and therefore to a man that is vertuous every man ought to be a friend ; yet I doe not mean the severe, and philosophical excellencies of some morose persons who are indeed wise unto themselves and exemplar to others : by *Vertue* here I do not mean *justice and temperance, charity and devotion* ; for these I am to love the man, but friendship is something more then that : *Friendship is the nearest love and the nearest society* of which the persons are capable : Now justice is a good entercourse for Merchants, as all men are that buy and sell ; and temperance makes a Man good company, and helps to make a wise man ; but a perfect friendship requires something else, there must be in him that is chosen to be my friend ;

friend ; but for these I do not make him my *privado* ; that is, my special and peculiar friend : but if he be a *good man*, then he is properly fitted to be my correlative in the noblest combination.

And for this we have the best warrant in the world: For a just man scarcely will a man die; the Syriac interpreter reads it, *ὁ πρὸς ἀδίκου* for an unjust man scarcely will a man die ; that is, a wicked man is at no hand fit to receive the expression of the greatest friendship ; but all the Greek copies that ever I saw, or read of, read it as we doe ; for a righteous man or a just man that is, justice and righteousness is not the nearest indearment of friendship ; but for a good man some will even dare to die : that is, for a man that is sweetly disposed, ready to doe acts of goodnesse and to oblige others, to do things useful and profitable,

table, for a loving man, a benefi-  
cent, bountiful man, one who de-  
lights in doing good to his friend,  
such a man may have the highest  
friendship; he may have a friend  
that will die for him. And this  
is the meaning of *Laelius*: Vertue  
may be despised, so may Learning  
and Nobility; *at una est amicitia in  
rebus humanis de cujus utilitate omnes  
consentiant*: only friendship is that  
thing, which because all know to be  
useful and profitable, no man can  
despise; that is *χρησιότης*, or *ἀγα-  
θότης*, goodnesse or beneficence  
makes friendships. For if he be a  
good man he will love where he is  
beloved, and that's the first tie of  
friendship.

Ἀλλήλους ἐφίλησαν ἰσὺς ζυγῶ.

That was the commendation of the  
bravest friendship in *Theocritus*

They

They lov'd each other with a love  
That did in all things equal prove.

————— Ἡρά τοι' ἦσαν  
χρυσεῖοι πάλαι ἄνδρες ὅκ' ἀντιρί-  
λυσ' ὀφιλῆθεις

The world was under Saturns reign  
When he that lov'd was lov'd again.

For it is impossible this nearness  
of friendship can be where there is  
not mutual love; but this is secured  
if I choose a good man; for he that  
is apt enough to begin alone, will  
never be behinde in the relation and  
correspondency; and therefore I  
like the Gentiles Letaby well.

Ζεὺς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δοῖν τισὶν οἱ  
με φιλεῖσιν

Ὅλβιοι οἱ φιλέοντες, ἐπὶν ἴσον ἀν-  
τιφιλῶνται

They

Let



Let God give friends to me for my  
reward,  
Who shall my love with equal love  
regard;  
Happy are they, who when they  
give their heart,  
Find such as in exchange their own  
impart.

But there is more in it then this felicity amounts to. For *χρησδς ἀνὴρ* the good man is a profitable, useful person, and that's the band of an effective friendship. For I do not think that friendships are Metaphysical nothings, created for contemplation, or that men or women should stare upon each others faces, and make dialogues of news and prettinesses, and look babies in one anothers eyes. Friendship is the allay of our sorrows, the ease of our passions, the discharge of our oppressions, the sanctuary to our  
calamities.

calamities, the counsellor of our doubts, the clarity of our minds, the emission of our thoughts, the exercise and improvement of what we meditate : And although I love my friend because he is worthy, yet he is not worthy if he can do no good. I do not speak of accidental hinderances and misfortunes by which the bravest man may become unable to help his Childe ; but of the natural and artificial capacities of the man. He only is fit to be chosen for a friend, who can do those offices for which friendship is excellent. For (mistake not) no man can be loved for himselfe ; our perfections in this world cannot reach so high ; it is well if we would love God at that rate, and I very much fear, that if God did us no good, we might admire his Beauties, but we should have but a small proportion of love  
towards

towards him ; and therefore it is, that God to endear *the obedience*, that is, *the love* of his servants signifies what benefits he gives us, what great good things he does for us. *I am the Lord God that brought thee out of the Land of Egypt :* and does Job serve God for nought ? And he that comes to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder : all his other greatneses are objects of fear and wonder, it is his goodness that makes him lovely : and so it is in friendships. He only is fit to be chosen for a friend who can give me counsel, or defend my cause, or guide me right, or relieve my need, or can and will, when I need it, do me good : only this I adde : into the heaps of doing good, I will reckon [ *loving me* ] for it is a pleasure to be beloved ; but when his love signifies nothing but Kissing my Cheek or talking kindly,

C

and

and can goe no further, it is a prostitution of the bravery of friendship to spend it upon impertinent people who are ( it may be ) loads to their families, but can never ease my loads: but my friend is a worthy person when he can become to me instead of God, a guide or a support, an eye, or a hand; a staffe, or a rule: There must be in friendship something to distinguish it from a Companion, and a Countryman, from a School-fellow or a Gossip, from a Sweet-heart or a Fellow-traveller: Friendship may look in at any one of these doors, but it staves not any where till it come to be the best thing in the world: and when we consider that one man is not better then another, neither towards God nor Man, but by doing better and braver things, we shall also see, that that which is most beneficent is also

so most excellent; and therefore those friendships must needs be most perfect, where the friends can be most useful. For men cannot be useful but by worthinesses in the several instances: a fool cannot be relied upon for counsel; nor a vitious person for the advantages of vertue, nor a beggar for relief, nor a stranger for conduct, nor a tatter to keep a secret, nor a pittifull person trusted with my complaint, nor a covetous man with my childe's fortune, nor a false person without a witness, nor a suspicious person with a private design; nor him that I fear with the treasures of my love: But he that is wise and vertuous, rich and at hand, close and mercifull, free of his money and tenacious of a secret, open and ingenuous, true and honest, is of himself an excellent man; and therefore fit to be

lov'd ; and he can do good to me in all capacities where I can need him, and therefore is fit to be a friend. I confess we are forced in our friendships to abate some of these ingredients ; but full measures of friendship, would have full measures of worthiness ; and according as any defect is in the foundation ; in the relation also there may be imperfection : and indeed I shall not blame the friendship so it be worthy, though it be not perfect ; not only because friendship is charity, which cannot be perfect here, but because there is not in the world a perfect cause of perfect friendship.

If you can suspect that this discourse can suppose friendship to be mercenary, and to be defective in the greatest worthiness of it, which is to love our friend for our friends sake ( for so *Scipio* said, that

that it was against friendship to say, *ita amare oportere ut aliquando esset usurus*, that we ought so to love, that we may also some times make use of a friend: ) I shall easily be able to defend my self; because I speak of the election and reasons of choosing friends: after he is chosen do as nobly as you talke, and love as purely as you dream, and let your conversation be as metaphysical as your discourse, and proceed in this method, till you be confuted by experience; yet till then, the case is otherwise when we speak of choosing one to be my friend: He is not my friend till I have chosen him, or loved him; and if any man enquires whom he shall choose or whom he should love, I suppose it ought not to be answered, that we should love him who hath least amability; that we

should choole him who hath least reason to be chosen: But if it be answered, he is to be chosen to be my friend who is most worthy in himself, not he that can do most good to me; I say, here is a distinction but no difference; for he is most worthy in himself who can do most good; and if he can love me too, that is, if he will do me all the good he can, or that I need, then he is my friend and he deserves it. And it is impossible from a friend to separate a will to do me good: and therefore I do not choose well; if I choose one that hath not power; for if it may consist with the nobleness of friendship to desire that my friend be ready to do me benefit or support, it is not sense to say, it is ignoble to desire he should really do it when I need; and if it were not for pleasure or profit, we  
might



might as well be without a friend  
as have him.

Among all the pleasures and profits, the *sensual pleasure* and the *matter of money* are the lowest and the least; and therefore although they may sometimes be used in friendship, and so not wholly excluded from the consideration of him that is to choose, yet of all things they are to be the least regarded;

Ἐντοῖς ὃ δεινοῖς, χρημάτων κρείτ-  
των φίλῳ

When fortune frowns upon a  
man,

A friend does more then mo-  
ney can. *W 71*

For there are besides these, many profits and many pleasures; and because these only are sordid, all the other are noble and fair and the

expectations of them no disparagements to the best friendships. For can any wise or good man be angry if I say, I chose this man to be my friend, because he is able to give me counsel, to restrain my wandrings, to comfort me in my sorrows; he is pleasant to me in private, and useful in publick; he will make my joyes double, and divide my grief between himself and me? For what else should I choose? For being a fool, and useles; for a pretty face or a smooth chin; I confess it is possible to be a friend to one that is ignorant, and pitiable, handsome and good for nothing, that eats well, and drinks deep: but he cannot be a friend to me; and I love him with a fondness or a pity, but it cannot be a noble friendship.

ἐκ ἑᾶ πόντων καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν  
τρυσφῆς

Ζητῶμεν

Ζητῶμεν ὧπισεύσομεν τὰ τῷ βίῃ  
Πάτερ; ἔπεριττόν οἷσι τ' ἐξευρη-  
κέναι

Ἀγαθὸν ἕκαστος ἐὰν ἔχη φίλῃ σκίαν.  
said Menander.

By wine and mirth and every dayes  
delight  
We choose our friends, to whom  
we think we might  
Our souls intrust; but fools are they  
that lend  
Their bosome to the shadow of a  
friend.

Εἰδῶλα ἢ μιμήματα φιλίας. *Plu-  
tarch* calls such friendships, the I-  
dols and Images of friendship. True  
and brave friendships are between  
worthy persons; and there is in  
mankind no degree of worthiness,  
but is also a degree of usefulness,  
and by every thing by which a man  
is excellent, I may be profited: and  
C 5 because

because those are the bravest friends which can best serve the ends of friendships, either we must suppose that friendships are not the greatest comforts in the world, or else we must say, he chooses his friend best, that chooses such a one by whom he can receive the greatest comforts and assistances.

3. This being the measure of all friendships; they all partake of excellency, according as they are fitted to this measure: a friend may be counselled well enough though his friend be not the wisest man in the world, and he may be pleased in his society though he be not the best natured man in the world; but still it must be, that something excellent is, or is apprehended, or else it can be no worthy friendship; because the choice is imprudent and foolish. Choose for your friend him that is wise and good,  
and

and secret and just, ingenuous and honest; and in those things which have a latitude, use your own liberty; but in such things which consist in an indivisible point, make no abatements: That is, you must not choose him to be your friend that is not honest and secret, just and true to a tittle; but if he be wise at all, and useful in any degree, and as good as you can have him, you need not be ashamed to own your friendships; though sometimes you may be ashamed of some imperfections of your friend.

4. But if you yet enquire further, whether fancy may be an ingredient in your choice? I answer, that fancy may minister to this as to all other actions in which there is a liberty and variety; and we shall find that there may be peculiarities and little partialities, a *friendship, improperly so called*, entring upon

upon accounts of an innocent passion and a pleas'd fancy; even our Blessed Saviour himself loved *S. John* and *Lazarus* by a special love, which was signified by special treatments; and of the young man that spake well and wisely to Christ, it is affirmed, *Jesus loved him*: that is, he fancied the man; and his soul had a certain cognation and similitude of temper and inclination. For in all things where there is a latitude, every faculty will endeavour to be pleased, and sometimes the meanest persons in a house have a festival; even sympathies and natural inclinations to some persons, and a conformity of humors, and proportionable loves, and the beauty of the face, and a witty answer may first strike the flint and kindle a spark, which if it falls upon tender and compliant natures may grow into a flame; but  
this

*and measures of Friendship.*

this will never be maintained at the rate of friendship, unless it be fed by pure materials, by *worthinesses which are the food of friendship.* Where these are not, men and women may be pleased with one another's company, and lie under the same roof, and make themselves companions of equal prosperities, and humour their friend; but if you call this friendship, you give a sacred name to humour or fancy; for there is a Platonic friendship as well as a Platonic love; but they being but the Images of more noble bodies are but like tinsell dressings, which will shew bravely by candle-light, and do excellently in a mask, but are not fit for conversation, and the material enter-courses of our life. These are the prettinesses of prosperity and good natur'd wit; but when we speak of friendship, which is the best thing  
in

in the world ( for it is love and beneficence ; it is charity that is fitted for society ) we cannot suppose a brave pile should be built up with nothing ; and they that build Castles in the aire, and look upon friendship, as upon a fine Romance, a thing that pleases the fancy, but is good for nothing else, will doe well when they are asleep, or when they are come to Elysium ; and for ought I know in the mean time may be as much in love with *Mandana* in the *Grand Cyrus*, as with the *Countess of Exeter* ; and by dreaming of perfect and abstracted friendships, make them so immaterial that they perish in the handling and become good for nothing.

But I know not whither I was going ; I did only mean to say that because friendship is that by which the world is most blessed and receives



ceives most good, it ought to be chosen amongst the worthiest persons, that is, amongst those that can do greatest benefit to each other; and though in equal worthiness I may choose by my eye, or ear, that is, into the consideration of the essential I may take in also the accidental and extrinsick worthinesses; yet I ought to give every one their just value; when the internal beauties are equal, these shall help to weigh down the scale, and I will love a worthy friend that can delight me as well as profit me, rather than him who cannot delight me at all, and profit me *no more*; but yet I will not weigh the gayest flowers, or the wings of butterflies against wheat; but when I am to choose wheat, I may take that which looks the brightest: I had rather see Time and Roses, Marjoram and Julyflowers that are fair and  
sweet

sweet and medicinal, then the prettiest Tulips that are good for nothing: And my Sheep and Kine are better servants then race-Horses and Grayhounds: And I shall rather furnish my study with *Plutarch* and *Cicero*, with *Livy* and *Polybius*, then with *Cassandra* and *Ibrahim Bassa*; and if I do give an hour to these for divertisement or pleasure, yet I will dwell with them that can instruct me and make me wise, and eloquent, severe and useful to my selfe, and others. I end this with the saying of *Laelius* in *Cicero*: *Amicitia non debet consequi utilitatem, sed amicitiam utilitas*. When I choose my friend, I will not stay till I have received a kindness; but I will choose such a one that can doe me many if I need them: But I mean such kindnesses which make me wiser, and which make me better; that is, I will  
when

when I choose my friend, choose him that is the bravest, the worthiest and the most excellent person: and then your first Question is soon answered; to love such a person and to contract such friendships is just so authorized by the principles of Christianity, as it is warranted to love wisdom and virtue, goodness and beneficence, and all the impresses of God upon the spirits of brave men.

2. The next inquiry is *how far it may extend?* That is, by what expressions it may be signified? I finde that *David* and *Jonathan* loved at a strange rate; they were both good men; though it happened that *Jonathan* was on the obliging side; but here the expressions were; *Jonathan* watched for *David's* good; told him of his danger, and helped him to escape; took part with *David's* innocence against his Fathers malice

malice and injustice ; and beyond all this, did it to his own prejudice ; and they two stood like two feet supporting one body ; though *Jonathan* knew that *David* would prove like the foot of a Wrestler, and would supplant him, not by any unworthy or unfriendly action, but it was from God ; and he gave him his hand to set him upon his own throne.

We finde his paralels in the Gentile stories : young *Athenodorus* having divided the estate with his Brother *Xenon* ; divided it again when *Xenon* had spent his own share ; and *Lucullus* would not take the Consulship till his younger brother had first enjoyed it for a year ; but *Polux* divided with *Castor* his immortality ; and you know who offer'd himselfe to death being pledg for his friend ; and his friend by performing his word rescued him and  
bravely

bravely: and when we finde in Scripture that *for a good man some will even dare to die*; and that *Aquila and Priscilla* laid their necks down for *S. Paul*; and the *Galatians* would have given him their very eyes, that is, every thing that was most dear to them, and some others were neer unto death for his sake; and that it is a precept of Christian charity, to lay down our lives for our Brethren, that is, those who were combined in a cause of Religion, who were united with the same hopes, and imparted to each other ready assistances, and grew dear by common sufferings, we need enquire no further for the expressions of friendships: *Greater love then this hath no man, then that he lay down his life for his friends*; and this we are oblig'd to do in some Cases for all Christians; and therefore we may do it for those who are to us in this  
present

present and imperfect state of things, that which all the good men and women in the world shall be in Heaven, that is, in the state of perfect friendships. This is the biggest; but then it includes and can suppose all the rest; and if this may be done for all, and in some cases must for any one of the multitude, we need not scruple whether we may do it, for those who are better than a multitude. But as for the thing it selfe, it is not easily and lightly to be done; and a man must not die for humor, nor expend so great a Jewel for a trifle: *μὲντοι ἀνεπνεύσαμεν εἰδότες ἐπ' ἔδενι λυσιτελεῖ παρναύλωμα γεννησόμενοι*: said *Philo*; we will hardly die when it is for nothing, when no good, no worthy end is served, and become a Sacrifice to redeem a foot-boy. But we may not give our life to redeem another: unless.

I. The

1. The party for whom we die be a worthy and a useful person ; better for the publick or better for Religion, and more useful to others than my selfe. Thus *Ribischius* the German died bravely when he became a Sacrifice for his Master, *Maurice Duke of Saxony* ; Covering his Masters body with his own, that he might escape the furie of the Turkish Souldiers. *Succurram perituro, sed ut ipse non peream, nisi si futurus ero magni hominis, aut magnæ rei merces* ; said *Seneca*. I will help a dying person if I can ; but I will not die my selfe for him, unless by my death I save a brave man, or become the price of a great thing ; that is, I will die for a Prince, for the republick, or to save an Army as *David* expos'd himself to combat with the Philistin for the redemption of the Host of Israel : And in this sense, that is true ; *Præstat ut pereat unus,*

*unum, quam Unitas*, better that one perish than a multitude. 2. A man dies bravely when he gives his temporal life to save the soul of any single person in the Christian world. It is a worthy exchange, and the glorification of that love by which Christ gave his life for every soul; Thus he that reproveth an erring Prince wisely and necessarily, he that affirms a fundamental truth, or stands up for the glory of the Divine attributes, though he die for it, becomes a worthy sacrifice. 3. These are duty, but it may be heroick and full of Christian bravery, to give my life to rescue a noble and a brave friend; though I my self be as worthy a man as he; because the preference of him is an act of humility in me; and of friendship towards him; *Humility* and *Charity* making a pious difference where *art* and *nature* have made all equal.

Some



Some have fancied other measures of treating our friends. One sort of men say that we are to expect that our friends should value us as we value our selves : which if it were to be admitted, will require that we make no friendships with a proud man ; and so farre indeed were well ; but then this proportion does exclude also humble men who are most to be valued, and the rather because they undervalue themselves.

Others say that a friend is to value his friend as much as his friend values him ; but neither is this well or safe, wise or sufficient ; for it makes friendship a mere bargain, and is something like the Country weddings in some places where I have been ; where the bridegroom and the bride must meet in the half way, and if they fail a step, they retire and break the match : It is not

not good to make a reckoning in friendship; that's merchandise, or it may be gratitude, but not noble friendship; in which each part strives to out-do the other in significations of an excellent love: And *amongst true friends there is no fear of losing any thing.*

But that which amongst the old Philosophers comes nearest to the right, is that we love our friends as we love our selves. If they had meant it as our Blessed Saviour did of that general friendship by which we are to love all mankind, it had been perfect and well; or if they had meant it of the inward affection, or of outward justice; but because they meant it of the most excellent friendships, and of the outward significations of it, it cannot be sufficient: for a friend may and must sometimes do more for his friend then he would doe for himself.

himself. Some men will perish before they will beg or petition for themselves to some certain persons; but they account it noble to do it for their friend, and they will want rather than their friend shall want; and they will be more earnest in praise or dispraise respectively for their friend than for themselves. And indeed I account *that* one of the greatest demonstrations of real friendship is, that a friend can really endeavour to have his friend advanced in honour, in reputation, in the opinion of wit or learning before himself.

Martial. *Aurum & opes, & rura frequens donabit amicus:*  
l. 8.  
ep. 18.

*Qui velit ingenio cedere rarus erit.  
Sed tibi tantus inest veteris respectus amici*

*Carior ut mea sit quam tua fama tibi.*

D

Lands

Lands, gold and trifles many give  
or lend ;

But he that stoops in fame is a rare  
friend :

In friendships orbe thou art the  
brightest starre

Before thy same mine thou prefer-  
rest far.

But then be pleas'd to think that  
therefore I so highly value this sig-  
nification of friendship, because I  
so highly value humility. **Humi-  
lity and Charity** are the two great-  
est graces in the world ; and these  
are the greatest ingredients which  
constitute friendship and ex-  
presse it.

But there needs no other measures  
of friendship, but that it may be as  
great as you can express it ; beyond  
death it cannot goe, to death it  
may, when the cause is reasonable  
and

and just, charitable and religious: and yet if there be any thing greater then to suffer death (and pain and shame to some are more insufferable) a true and noble friendship shrinks not at the greatest trials.

And yet there is a limit even to friendship. It must be as great as our friend fairly needs in all things where we are not tied up by a former duty, to God, to our selves, or some pre-obliging relative. When *Pollux* heard some body whisper a reproach against his Brother *Castor*, he kill'd the slanderer with his fist: That was a zeal which his friendship could not warrant. *Nulla est excusatio si amici causa peccaveris* said *Cicero*. No friendship can excuse a sinne: And this the braver Romans instanced in the matter of duty to their Country. It is not lawful to fight or

our friends part against our Prince or Country; and therefore when *Caius Blossius* of *Cuma* in the sedition of *Gracchus* appeared against his Country, when he was taken he answered, that he loved *Tiberius Gracchus* so dearly, that he thought fit to follow him whithersoever he lead; and begg'd pardon upon that account. They who were his Judges were so noble, that though they knew it no fair excuse: yet for the honour of friendship they did not directly reject his motion: but put him to death, because he did not follow, but led on *Gracchus* and brought his friend into the snare; For so they preserved the honours of friendship on either hand, by neither suffering it to be sullied by a foul excuse, nor yet rejected in any fair pretence. A man may not be perjured for his friend. I remember to have read

in the History of the Low-coun-  
treys, that *Grimston* and *Redhead*,  
when *Bergenapzoom* was besieged by  
the Duke of *Parma* acted for the in-  
terest of the Queen of *Englands* for-  
ces a notable design; but being sus-  
pected and put for their acquittance  
to take the Sacrament of the Altar,  
they dissembled their persons, and  
their interest, their design and their  
Religion, and did for the Queens  
service (as one wittily wrote to  
her) give not only their bodies but  
their souls, and so deserved a re-  
ward greater then she could pay  
them: I cannot say this is a thing  
greater then a friendship can re-  
quire, for it is not great at all, but  
a great villany, which hath no  
name, and no order in worthy en-  
tercourses; and no obligation to a  
friend can reach as high as our  
Duty to God: And he that does  
a base thing in zeal for his friend,

burns the golden thred that ties their hearts together ; it is a *conspiracy*, but no longer *friendship*. And when *Cato* lent his wife to *Hortensius*, and *Socrates* lent his to a merry Greek ; they could not amongst wise persons obtain so much as the fame of being worthy friends, neither could those great Names legitimate an unworthy action under the most plausible title.

It is certain that amongst friends their estates are common ; that is, by whatsoever I can rescue my friend from calamity, I am to serve him, or not to call him friend ; and there is a great latitude in this, and it is to be restrained by no prudence, but when there is on the other side a great necessity neither vicious nor avoidable : A man may choose, whether he will or no ; and he does not sin in not doing



ing it, unless he have bound himself to it: *But certainly friendship is the greatest band in the world,* and if he have professed a great friendship, he hath a very great obligation to do that and more; and he can no wayes be disobliged but by the care of his Natural relations.

I said, [*Friendship is the greatest bond in the world,*] and I had reason for it, for it is all the bands that this world hath; and there is no society, and there is no relation that is worthy, but it is made so by the communications of friendship and by partaking some of its excellencies. For friendship is a transcendent, and signifies as much as *Unity* can mean, and every consent, and every pleasure, and every benefit, and every society is the Mother or the Daughter of friendship. Some friendships are

made by *nature*, some by *contract*, some by *interest*, and some by *souls*. And in proportion to these ways of *Uniting*, so the friendships are greater or less, vertuous or natural, profitable or holy, or all this together. Nature makes excellent friendships, of which we observe something in social plants; growing better in each others neighbourhood than where they stand singly: And in animals it is more notorious, whose friendships extend so far as to herd and dwell together, to play, and feed, to defend and fight for one another, and to cry in absence, and to rejoyce in one others presence. But these friendships have other names less noble, they are *sympathy*, or they are *instinct*. But if to this natural friendship there be reason superadded, something will come in upon the stock of reason which will enoble it;

it; but because no Rivers can rise higher then Fountains, reason shall draw out all the dispositions which are in Nature and establish them into friendships, but they cannot surmount the communications of Nature; Nature can make no friendships greater then her own excellencies. Nature is the way of contracting necessary friendships: that is, by nature such friendships are contracted without which we cannot live, and be educated, or be well, or be at all. In this scene, that of Parents and Children is the greatest, which indeed is begun in nature, but is actuated by society and mutual endearments. For Parents love their Children because they love themselves, Children being but like emissions of water, symbolical, or indeed the same with the fountain; and they in their posterity see the images and instrument of

a civil immortality; but if Parents and Children do not live together, we see their friendships and their loves are much abated, and supported only by fame and duty, by customs and religion which to nature are but artificial pillars, and make this friendship to be complicated, and to pass from its own kind to another. That of Children to their Parents is not properly friendship, but gratitude and interest, and religion, and whatever can supervene of the nature of friendship comes in upon another account; upon society and worthiness and choice.

This relation on either hand makes great Dearnesses: But it hath special and proper significations of it, and there is a special duty incumbent on each other respectively. This friendship and social relation is not equal, and there is

too much authority on one side, and too much fear on the other to make equal friendships; and therefore although this is one of the kindes of friendship, that is of a social and relative love and conversation, yet in the more proper use of the word; [ Friendship ] does doe some things which Father and Son do not; I instance in the free and open communicating counsels, and the evenness and pleasantness of conversation; and consequently the significations of the paternal and filial love as they are divers in themselves and Unequal, and therefore another kinde of friendship then we mean in our inquiry, for they are such a duty which no other friendship can annul: because their mutual duty is bound upon them by religion long before any other friendships can be contracted; and therefore having first possession must

must abide for ever. The duty and love to Parents must not yeeld to religion, much less to any new friendships: and our Parents are to be preferred before the Corban; and are at no hand to be laid aside but when they engage against God: That is, in the rights which this relation and kind of friendship challenges as its propriety, it is supreme and cannot give place to any other friendships; till the Father gives his right away, and God or the Laws consent to it; as in the case of marriage, emancipation, and adoption to another family: in which cases though love and gratitude are still obliging, yet the societies and duties of relation are very much altered, which in the proper and best friendships can never be at all. But then this also is true: that the social relations of Parents and Children not having in them all the capacities

ties of a proper friendship, cannot challenge all the significations of it: that is, it is no prejudice to the duty I owe there, to pay all the dearnesses which are due here, and to friends there are somethings due which the other cannot challenge: I mean, *my secret*, and *my equal conversation*, and the pleasures and interests of these, and the consequents of all.

Next to this is the society and dearness of Brothers and Sisters: which usually is very great amongst worthy persons; but if it be considered what it is in it self, it is but very little; there is very often a likenesse of natural temper, and there is a social life under the same roof, and they are commanded to love one another, and they are equals in many instances, and are endeared by conversation when it is merry and pleasant, innocent  
and

and simple, without art and without design. But Brothers pass not into noble friendships upon the stock of that relation: they have fair dispositions and advantages, and are more easie and ready to ferment into the greatest dearneſſes, if all things else be answerable. Nature disposes them well towards it, but in this inquiry if we aske what duty is passed upon a Brother to a Brother even for being so? I answer, that religion and our parents and God and the laws appoint what measures they please; but nature passes but very little, and friendship less; and this we see apparently in those Brothers who live asunder, and contract new relations, and dwell in other societies: There is no love, no friendship without the intercourse of conversation: Friendships indeed may last longer then our abode together,



ther, but they were first contracted by it, and established by pleasure and benefit, and unless it be the best kind of friendship (which that of Brothers in that meer capacity is not) it dies when it wants the proper nutriment and support: and to this purpose is that which was spoken by Solomon: [*better is a Prov. neighbour that is near, then 27. 10. a Brother that is far off:*] that is, although ordinarily, Brothers are first possessed of the entries and fancies of friendship, because they are of the first societies and conversations, yet when that ceases and the Brother goes away, so that he does no advantage, no benefit of intercourse; the neighbour that dwells by me, with whom if I converse at all, either he is my enemy and does, and receives evil; or if we converse in worthinesses and benefit and pleasant communication,

on, he is better in the laws and measures of friendship than my distant Brother. And it is observable that [ *Brother* ] is indeed a word of friendship and charity and of mutual endearment, and so is a title of the bravest society; yet in all the Scripture there are no precepts given of any duty and comport which Brothers, that is, the descendants of the same parents are to have one towards another in that capacity, and it is not because their nearness is such that they need none: For parents and children are neerer and yet need tables of duty to be described; and for Brothers, certainly they need it infinitely if there be any peculiar duty; *Cain* and *Abel* are the great probation of that, and you know who said,

*Fratrium quoque gratia rara est:*

It is not often you shall see  
Two Brothers live in amity.

But the Scripture which often describes the duty of Parents and Children, never describes the duty of Brothers; except where by *Brethren* are meant all that part of mankind who are tied to us by any vicinity and endearment of religion or country, of profession and family, of contract or society, of love and the noblest friendships; the meaning is, that though fraternity alone be the endearment of some degrees of friendship, without choice and without excellency; yet the relation it selfe is not friendship and does not naturally infer it, and that which is procured by it, is but limited and little; and though it may pass into it, as other conversations may, yet the friendship is accidental to it; and

enters upon other accounts, as it does between strangers ; with this only difference that Brotherhood does oftentimes assist the valuation of those excellencies for which we entertain our friendships. Fraternity is the opportunity and the preliminary dispositions to friendship, and no more. For if my Brother be a fool or a vicious person, the love to which nature and our first conversation disposes me, does not end in friendship, but in pity and fair provisions, and assistances ; which is a demonstration that Brotherhood is but the inclination and address to friendship ; and though I will love a worthy Brother more than a worthy stranger ; if the worthiness be equal, because the relation is something, and being put into the scales against an equal worthiness must needs turn the ballance, as every grain will do

in

in an even weight ; yet when the relation is all the worthiness that is pretended, it cannot stand in competition with a friend : for though a *friend-Brother* is better than a *friend-stranger*, where the friend is equal, but the Brother is not : yet a Brother is not better than a friend ; but as *Solomons* expression is, [ there is a friend that is better than a Brother, ] and to be born of the same parents is so accidental and extrinſick to a mans pleasure or worthiness, or spiritual advantages, that though it be very pleasing and usefull that a Brother should be a friend, yet it is no great addition to a friend that he also is a Brother : there is something in it, but not much. But in short, the case is thus. The first beginnings of friendship serve the necessities ; but choice and worthiness are the excellencies of its en-

endearment and its bravery ; and between a Brother that is no friend, and a friend that is no Brother, there is the same difference as between the disposition, and the act or habit : a Brother if he be worthy is the readiest and the nearest to be a friend, but till he be so, he is but the twi-light of the day, and but the blossom to the fairest fruit of Paradise. A Brother does not alwayes make a friend, but a friend ever makes a Brother and more : And although nature sometimes findes the tree, yet friendship engraves the Image ; the first relation places him in the garden, but friendship sets it in the Temple, and then only it is venerable and sacred : and so is Brother-hood when it hath the soul of friendship.

So that if it be asked which are most to be valued, Brothers or friends ;

friends; the answer is very easie; •  
 Brotherhood is or may be one of  
 the kinds of friendship, and from  
 thence onely hath its value, and  
 therefore if it be compared with a  
 greater friendship must give place:  
 But then it is not to be asked which  
 is to be preferred, a *Brother* or a  
*Friend*, but which is the better  
 friend; *Memnon* or my *Brother*?  
 For if my *Brother* sayes I ought to  
 love him best, then he ought to

love me best; \* if he  
 does, then there is a  
 great friendship and he  
 possibly is to be prefer-  
 red; if he can be that  
 friend which he pre-  
 tends to be, that is, if  
 he be equally worthy; but if he  
 sayes, I must love him only because  
 he is my *Brother*, whether he  
 loves me or no, he is ridiculous;  
 and it will be a strange relation  
 which

\* *Ut praestem*  
*Pyladen, ali-*  
*quis mihi pra-*  
*est Oresten*  
*Hoc non fit*  
*verbis, Marce*  
*ut amaris, ama.*  
*Marc. II. 6.*  
*ep. II.*

• which hath no correspondent: but  
 suppose it, and adde this also, that I  
 am equally his Brother as he is  
 mine; and then he also must love  
 me whether I love him or no, and  
 if he does not; he sayes, I must  
 love him though he be my Enemy;  
 and so I must; but I must not  
 love my Enemy though he be my  
 Brother more then I love my  
 Friend; and at last if he does love  
 me for being his Brother, I confesse  
 that this love deserves love again;  
 but then I consider, that he loves  
 me upon an incompetent reason;  
 for he that loves me only because  
 I am his Brother; loves me for that  
 which is no worthiness, and I must  
 love him as much as that comes to,  
 and for as little reason; unless  
 this be added, that he loves me  
 first: but whether choice and u-  
 nion of souls, and worthiness of  
 manners and greatness of under-  
 standing



standing, and usefulness of conversation, and the benefits of Counsel and all those endearments which make our lives pleasant and our persons Dear, are not better and greater reasons of love and Dearness then to be born of the same flesh, I think amongst wise persons needs no great enquiry. For fraternity is but a Cognation of bodies, but friendship is an Union of souls which are confederated by more noble ligatures. My Brother, if he be no more, shall have my hand to help him, but unless he be my friend too, he cannot challenge my heart: and if his being my friend be the greater nearnesse, then *friend* is more then *Brother*, and I suppose no man doubts but that *David* lov'd *Jonathan* far more then he lov'd his Brother *Eliab*.

One inquiry more there may be in this affair, and that is, whether

a friend may be more then Husband or Wife? To which I answer, that it can never be reasonable or just, prudent or lawful: but the reason is, because Marriage is the Queen of friendships, in which there is a communication of all that can be communicated by friendship: and it being made sacred by vows and love, by bodies and souls, by interest and custome, by religion and by laws, by common counsels, and common fortunes; it is the principal in the kind of friendship, and the measure of all the rest: And there is no abatement to this consideration, but that there may be some allay in this as in other lesser friendships by the incapacity of the persons: if I have not chosen my friend wisely or fortunately, he cannot be the correlative in the best Union; but then the friend lives as the soul does at-

ter death, it is in the state of separation, in which the soul strangely loves the body and longs to be reunited, but the body is an useless trunk and can do no ministeries to the soul; which therefore prays to have the body reformed and restored and made a brave and a fit companion: So must these best friends, when one is useless or unapt to the braveries of the princely friendship, they must love ever, and pray ever, and long till the other be perfected and made fit; in this case there wants only the body, but the soul is still a relative and must be so for ever.

A Husband and a Wife are the best friends, but they cannot alwayes signifie all that to each other which their friendships would; as the Sun shines not upon a Valley which sends up a thick vapour to cover his face; and though

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his

his beams are eternal, yet the emission is intercepted by the intervening cloud. But however, all friendships are but parts of this; a man must leave Father and Mother and cleave to his Wife, that is [ *the dearest thing in Nature is not comparable to the dearest thing of friendship:* ] and I think this is argument sufficient to prove friendship to be the greatest band in the world; Adde to this, that other friendships are parts of this, they are marriages too, less indeed than the other, because they cannot, must not be all that endearment which the other is; yet that being the principal, is the measure of the rest, and are all to be honoured by like dignities, and measured by the same rules, and conducted by their portion of the same Laws: But as friendships are *Marriages* of the soul, and of fortunes and interests, and

and counsels ; so they are *brotherhoods* too ; and I often think of the excellencies of friendships in the words of *David*, who certainly was the best friend in the world [ *Ecce quam bonum & quam jucundum fratres habitare in unum :* ] It is good and it is pleasant that Brethren should live like friends, that is, they who are any wayes relative, and who are any wayes sociall and confederate should also dwell in Unity and loving society, for that is the meaning of the word [ Brother ] in Scripture [ It was my Brother *Jonathan*, said *David* : such Brothers contracting such friendships are the beauties of society, and the pleasure of life, and the festivity of minds : and whatsoever can be spoken of love, which is Gods eldest daughter, can be said of vertuous friendships ; and though *Carneades* made an eloquent

oration at Rome against justice, yet never saw a Panegrick of malice, or ever read that any man was witty against friendship. Indeed it is probable that some men, finding themselves by the peculiarities of friendship excluded from the participation of those beauties of society which enamel and adorn the wise and the vertuous might suppose themselves to have reason to speak the evill words of envie and detraction ; I wonder not for all those unhappy souls which shall find heaven gates shut against them, will think they have reason to murmur and blaspheme : The similitude is apt enough, for that is the region of friendship ; and love is the light of that glorious Countrey, but so bright that it needs no Sun : Here we have fine and bright rayes of that celestially flame, and though to all mankind the

the light of it is in some measure to be extended, like the treasures of light dwelling in the South, yet a little do illustrate and beautifie the North, yet some live under the line, and the beams of friendship in that position are imminent and perpendicular.

I know but one thing more in which the Communications of friendship can be restrained; and that is, in Friends and Enemies: *Amicus amici, amicus meus non est*: My friends friend is not alwayes my friend; nor his enemy mine; for if my friend quarrell with a third person with whom he hath had no friendships, upon the account of interest; if that third person be my friend, the nobleness of our friendships despises such a quarrel; and what may be reasonable in him, would be ignoble in me; sometimes it may be

otherwise, and friends may marry one anothers loves and hatreds, but it is by chance if it can be just, and therefore *because it is not alwayes right it cannot be ever necessary.*

In all things else, let friendships be as high and expressive till they become an Union, or that friends like the Molionidæ be so the same that the flames of their dead bodies make but one Pyramis; no charity can be reproved, and such friendships which are more then shadows, are nothing else but the rayes of that glorious grace drawn into one centre, and made more active by the Union; and the proper significations are well represented in the old Hieroglyphick, by which the antients depicted friendship: “In the beauties and  
“strength of a young man, bare-  
“headed, rudely clothed, to signify  
“fie



“ his activity, and lastingness,  
“ readiness of action, and aptnesses  
“ to doe service ; Upon the fringes  
“ of his garment was written *Mors*  
“ & *vita*, as signifying that *in life*  
“ *and death* the friendship was the  
“ same ; on the forehead was writ-  
“ ten, *Summer and Winter*, that is,  
“ prosperous and adverse accidents  
“ and states of life ; the left arm  
“ and shoulder was bare and na-  
“ ed down to the heart to which  
“ the finger pointed, and there was  
“ written *longè* & *propè* : by all  
which we know that friendship  
does good farre and neer : in Sum-  
mer and in Winter, in life and  
death, and knowes no difference of  
state or accident but by the varie-  
ty of her services : and therefore  
ask no more to what we can be ob-  
liged by friendship ; for it is e-  
very thing that can be *honest* and  
*prudent, useful* and *necessary*.

80 *A Discourse of the Nature*

For this is all the allay of this Universality, we may do any thing or suffer any thing, that is *wise* or *necessary*, or *greatly beneficial* to my friend, and that *in any thing*, in which I am *perfect master* of my *person* and *fortunes*. But I would not in bravery visit my friend when he is sick of the plague, unless I can do him good equall at least to my danger, but I will procure him Physicians and prayers, all the assistances that he can receive, and that he can desire, if they be in my power: and when he is dead, I will not run into his grave and be stifled with his earth; but I will mourn for him, and perform his will, and take care of his relatives, and doe for him as if he were alive, and I think that is the meaning of that hard saying of a Greek Poet

Ἀνθρωπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἀπὸ πρῶθεν ὤ-  
μεν ἑταῖροι  
Πλὴν τέτε παντὸς χρήματ' ἐστὶ  
κόρη.

To me though distant let thy  
friendship fly,  
Though men be mortal, friendships  
must not die.  
Of all things else ther's great sa-  
tiety.

Of such immortal abstracted pure  
friendships indeed there is no great  
plenty, and to see brothers hate  
each other, is not so rare as to see  
them love at this rate. *The dead  
and the absent have but few friends,*  
say the Spaniards; but they who  
are the same to their friend ἀπὸ-  
πρῶθεν, when he is in another  
Countrey, or in another World,  
these are they who are fit to pre-  
serve

serve the sacred fire for eternal sacrifices, and to perpetuate the memory of those exemplar friendships of the best men which have filled the world with history and wonder : for in no other sense but this, can it be true ; that friendships are pure loves, regarding to do good more then to receive it: He that is a friend after death, hopes not for a recompense from his friend, and makes no bargain either for fame or love ; but is rewarded with the conscience and satisfaction of doing bravely : but then this is demonstration that they choose Friends best who take persons so worthy that can and will do so: This is the profit and usefulness of friendship ; and he that contracts such a noble Union ; must take care that his friend be such who can and will ; but hopes that himselfe shall be first used, and put  
to

to act it: I will not have such a friendship that is good for nothing, but I hope that I shall be on the giving and assisting part; and yet if both the friends be so noble and hope and strive to doe the benefit, I cannot well say which ought to yield, and whether that friendship were braver that could be content to be unprosperous so his friend might have the glory of assisting him; or that which desires to give assistances in the greatest measures of friendship: but he that chooses a worthy friend that himself in the dayes of sorrow and need might receive the advantage, hath no excuse, no pardon, unless himself be as certain to do assistances when evil fortune shall require them. The summe of this answer to this enquiry I give you in a pair of Greek verses.

ἴσον θεῷ σὸν τῶς φίλος τιμᾶν  
 θέλει.  
 ἐν ταῖς κακοῖς ὃ τῶς φίλος εὐερ-  
 γέται.

Friends are to friends as lesser  
 Gods, while they  
 Honour and service to each other  
 pay.

But when a dark cloud comes,  
 grudge not to lend  
 Thy head, thy heart, thy fortune  
 to thy friend.

3. The last inquiry is, *how friend-  
 ships are to be conducted?* That is,  
*what are the duties in presence and in  
 absence; whether the friend may not  
 desire to enjoy his friend as well as his  
 friendship?* The answer to which  
 in a great measure depends upon  
 what I have said already: and if  
 friendship be a charity in society,  
 and

and is not for contemplation and noise, but for materiall comforts and noble treatments and usages, there is no peradventure, but that if I buy land, I may eat the fruits, and if I take a house. I may dwell in it; and if I love a worthy person, I may please my selfe in his society: and in this there is no exception, unless the friendship be between persons of a different sex: for then not only the interest of their religion, and the care of their honour, but the worthiness of their friendship requires that their entercourse be prudent and free from suspicion and reproach: and if a friend is obliged to bear a calamity, so he secure the honour of his friend, it will concern him to conduct his entercourse in the lines of a vertuous prudence, so that he shall rather lose much of *his own comfort*, then *lose any thing* of

of *her honour* ; and in this case, the noises of people are so to be regarded, that next to innocence they are the principal. But when by caution and prudence and severe conduct, a friend hath done all that he or she can to secure fame and honourable reports ; after this, their noises are to be despised ; they must not fright us from our friendships, nor from her fairest entercourses ; *I may lawfully pluck the clusters from my own vine, though he that walks by, calls me thief.*

.But by the way ( Madam ) you may see how much I differ from the morosity of those Cynics who would not admit your sex into the communities of a noble friendship. I believe some Wives have been the best friends in the world ; and few stories can out-do the nobleness and piety of that Lady that  
suck'd.



suck'd the poisonous, purulent  
matter from the wound of our  
brave Prince in the holy Land,  
when an Assasine had pierc'd him  
with a venom'd arrow; and if it  
be told that women cannot retain  
counsell, and therefore can be no  
brave friends; I can best confute  
them by the story of *Porcia*, who  
being fearful of the weakness of  
her sex, stabb'd her self into the  
thigh to try how she could bear  
pain; and finding her selfe con-  
stant enough to that sufferance,  
gently chid her *Brutus* for not  
daring to trust her, since now she  
perceived that no torment could  
wrest that secret from her, which  
she hoped might be intrusted to  
her. If there were not more  
things to be said for your satisfac-  
tion, I could have made it dispu-  
table whether have been more  
illustrious in their friendships men

OR

or women? I cannot say that Women are capable of all those excellencies by which men can oblige the world; and therefore a femal friend in some cases is not so good a counsellor as a wise man, and cannot so well defend my honour; nor dispose of reliefs and assistances if she be under the power of another: but a woman can love as passionately, and converse as pleasantly, and retain a secret as faithfully, and be useful in her proper ministeries; and she can die for her friend as well as the bravest Roman Knight; and we find that some persons have engag'd themselves as farre as death upon a less interest then all this amounts to: such were the *εὐχωλαίται* as the Greeks call them, the Devoti of a Prince or General, the Assassines amongst the *Saracens*, the *Σολιδένοι* amongst the old *Galatians*.

*latians* : they did as much as a friend could do ; and if the greatest services of a friend can be paid for by an ignoble price, we cannot grudge to vertuous and brave women that they be partners in a noble friendship, since their conversation and returns can adde so many moments to the felicity of our lives : and therefore, though a Knife cannot enter as farre as a Sword, yet a Knife may be more useful to some purposes ; and in every thing, except it be against an enemy. A man is the best friend in trouble, but a woman may be equal to him in the dayes of joy : a woman can as well increase our comforts, but cannot so well lessen our sorrows : and therefore we do not carry women with us when we go to fight ; but in peacefull Cities and times, vertuous women are the beauties of

of society and the prettineſſes of friendship. And when we conſider that few perſons in the world have all thoſe excellencies by which friendship can be uſeful and illuſtrious, we may as well allow women as men to be friends; ſince *they* can have all that which can be neceſſary and eſſentiall to friendſhips, and *theſe* cannot have all by which friendſhips can be accidentally improved; in all ſome abatements will be made; and we ſhall do too much honour to women, if we reject them from friendſhips becauſe they are not perfect: for if to friendſhips we admit imperfect men, becauſe no man is perfect: he that rejects women does finde fault with them becauſe they are not more perfect then men, which either does ſecretly affirm that they ought and can be perfect, or elſe it openly accuses men

of injustice and partiality.

I hope you will pardon me that I am a little gone from my undertaking, I went aside to wait upon the women and to do countenance to their tender vertues : I am now return'd, and, if I were to do the office of a guide to uninstructed friends, would adde the particulars following ; Madam, you need not read them now, but when any friends come to be taught by your precept and example how to converse in the noblest Conjugations, you may put these into better words and tell them

1. That the first law of friendship is, they must neither ask of their friend what is Undecent; nor grant it if themselves be askt. For it is no good office to make my friend more vitious or more a fool; I will restrain his folly, but not nurse

nurse it ; I will not make my groom the officer of my lust and vanity. There are Villains who sell their souls for bread, that offer sin and vanity at a price : I should be unwilling my friend should know I am vicious ; but if he could be brought to minister to it ; he is not worthy to be my friend : and if I could offer it to him, I do not deserve to claspe hands with a virtuous person.

2. Let no man choose him for his friend whom it shall be possible for him ever after to hate, for though the *society* may justly be interrupted, yet *love* is an immortal thing, and I will never despise him whom I could once think worthy of my love. A friend that proves not good is rather to be suffered, then any enmities be entertained : and there are some outer offices of friendship and little drud-

drudgeries in which the less worthy are to be employed, and it is better that he be below stairs than quite thrown out of doors.

3. There are two things which a friend can never pardon, a treacherous blow and the revealing of a secret, because these are against the Nature of friendship; they are the adulteries of it, and dissolve the Union; and in the matters of friendship which is the marriage of souls; these are the proper causes of divorce: and therefore I shall adde this only, that *secrecy* is the *chastity of friendship*, and the publication of it is a prostitution and direct debauchery; but a secret, treacherous wound is a perfect and unpardonable Apostacy. I remember a pretty *apologue* that *Bromiard* tells. A Fowler in a sharp frosty morning having taken many little birds for which he had

had long watched, began to take up his nets; and nipping the birds on the head laid them down. A young thrush espying the tears trickling down his cheeks by the reason of the extreme cold, laid to her Mother, that certainly the man was very merciful and compassionate that wept so bitterly over the calamity of the poor Birds. But her Mother told her more wisely, that she might better judge of the mans disposition by his hand then by his eye; and if the hands do strike treacherously, he can never be admitted to friendship, who speaks fairly and weeps pittifully. Friendship is the greatest honesty and ingenuity in the world.

4. Never accuse thy friend, nor believe him that does: if thou dost, thou hast broken the skin; but he that is angry with every little fault



fault breaks the bones of friendship: and when we consider that in society and the accidents of every day, in which no man is constantly pleased or displeased with the same things; we shall finde reason to impute the change unto our selves; and the emanations of the Sun are still glorious, when our eyes are sore: and we have no reason to be angry with an eternal light, because we have a changeable and a mortal faculty. But however, do not think thou didst contract alliance with an Angel, when thou didst take thy friend into thy bosome; he may be weak as well as thou art, and thou mayest need pardon as well as he, and

μήποτ' ἐπὶ σμικρῷ περ φάσει φίλον ἀνδρὶ  
ἀπολέσσης

Πειθόμεν' ὅτ' ἁλὲ πῃ Κύρνε διαβολὴν  
Εἴπης ἀμαρτωλῆσι φίλον ἐπὶ πάντι χαλῶτο  
Οὐποτ' ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἄεθμοι ὕτε φίλοι.

Theog.

that

that man loves flattery more then friendship, who would not only have his friend, but all the contingencies of his friend to humour him.

5. Give thy friend counsel wisely and charitably, but leave him to his liberty whether he will follow thee or no: and be not angry if thy counsel be rejected: for, *advice is no Empire*, and he is not my friend that will be my Judge whether I will or no. *Neoptolemus* had never been honoured with the victory and spoiles of *Troy* if he had attended to the tears and counsel of *Lycomedes*, who being afraid to venture the young man, fain would have had him sleep at home safe in his little Island. He that gives advice to his friend and *exacts obedience* to it, does not the kindnesse and ingenuity of a friend but the office and pertnesse of a Schoolmaster.

6. Never

6. Never be a Judge between thy friends in any matter where both set their hearts upon the victory: If strangers or enemies be litigant, what ever side thou favour'st, thou gettest a friend, but when friends are the parties thou lovest one.

7. Never comport thy self so, as that thy friend can be afraid of thee: for then the state of the relation alters when a new and troublesome passion supervenes.

*ODERUNT quos METUNT.* Perfect love casteth out fear, and no man is friend to a Tyrant; but that friendship is Tyranny where the love is changed into fear, equality into empire, society into obedience; for then all my kindness to him also will be no better then flattery.

F

8. When

8. When you admonish your friend, let it be without bitterness; when you chide him, let it be without reproach; when you praise him, let it be with worthy purposes and for just causes, and in friendly measures; too much of that is flattery, too little is envy; if you doe it justly you teach him true measures: but when others praise him, rejoyce, though they praise not thee, and remember that if thou esteemest his praise to be thy disparagement, thou art envious, but neither just nor kind.

9. When all things else are equal preferre an old friend before a new. If thou meanest to spend thy friend, and make a gain of him till he be weary, thou wilt esteem him as a beast of burden, the worse for his age.

But

But if thou esteemest him by noble measures, he will be better to thee by thy being used to him, by tryall and experience, by reciprocation of indearments, and an habitual worthiness. An old friend is like old wine, which when a man hath drunk, he doth not desire new, because he saith the old is better. But every old friend was new once; and if he be worthy keep the new one till he become old.

10. After all this, treat thy friend nobly, love to be with him, do to him all the worthinesses of love and fair endearment, according to thy capacity and his; Bear with his infirmities till they approach towards being criminal; but never dissemble with him, never despise him, never leave him.

100 *A Discourse of the Nature*

\* Give him gifts and upbraid him not, † and refuse not his kindnesses, and be sure never to despise the smallness or the impropriety of them. *Confirmatur amor beneficio accepto*: A gift (saith Solomon) fastneth friendships; for as an eye that dwells long upon a starre must be refreshed with lesser beauties and strengthened with greens and looking-glasses, lest the sight become amazed with too great a splendor; so must the love of friends sometimes be refreshed with material and low Caresses; lest by

\* *Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis  
Quas dederis solas semper habebis opes.*

Mart. l. 5. ep. 43.

*Et tamen hoc vitium, sed non leve, sit licet unum,  
Quod colit ingratas pauper amicitias.*

*Quis largitur opes veteri, fidoque sodali.* ep. 19.

† *Non bellè quædam faciunt duo: sufficit unus*

*Huic operi: si vis ut loquar ipse tace.*

*Crede mihi quamvis ingentia Posthume dones*

*Authoris pereunt garrulitate sui.*

ep. 53.

striving

striving to be *too divine* it becomes  
*less humane* : It must be allowed  
its share of *both* : It is *humane* in  
giving pardon and fair constructi-  
on, and opennesse and ingenuity,  
and keeping secrets; it hath *some-*  
*thing* that is *Divine*, because it is *be-*  
*neficent* ; but *much* because it is *E-*  
*ternall*.

---

**F I N I S.**

# Postscript.

M A D A M,

**I**F you shall think it fit that these papers pass further then your own eye and Closet, I desire they may be consign'd into the hands of my worthy friend Dr. Wedderburne : For I do not only expose all my sickness to his cure, but I submit my weakneses to his censure, being as confident  
to



to finde of him charity for  
 what is pardonable, as re-  
 medy for what is curable :  
 but indeed Madam I look  
 upon that worthy man as an  
 Idea of Friendship, and if  
 I had no other notices of  
 Friendship or conversation  
 to instruct me then his, it  
 were sufficient : For what-  
 soever I can say of Friend-  
 ship, I can say of his, and  
 as all that know him reckon  
 him amongst the best  
 Physicians , so I knew  
 F 4 him

him worthy to be reckoned amongst the best friends.

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# Two Letters to Persons changed in their Religion.

*A Copy of the First Letter  
written to a Gentle-  
woman newly seduced to  
the Church of Rome.*

M. B.



Was desirous of an opportunity in London to have discoursed with you concerning something of nearest concernment to you, but the multitude of my little affairs hindred me, and have brought upon you  
F 5 this

this trouble to reade a long Letter, which yet I hope you will be more willing to do, because it comes from one who hath a great respect to your person, and a very great charity to your soul: I must confesse I was on your behalf troubled when I heard you were fallen from the Communion of the Church of *England*, and entred into a voluntary, unnecessary schism, and deparrure from the Laws of the King, and the Communion of those with whom you have alwaies lived in charity, going against those Laws in the defence and profession of which your Husband died, going from the Religion in which you were baptized, in which for so many years you lived piously and hoped for Heaven, and all this without any sufficient reason, without necessity or just scandall ministred to you; and to aggravate

vate all this, you did it in a time when the Church of *England* was persecuted, when she was marked with the Characterismes of her Lord, the marks of the Crosse of Jesus, that is, when she suffered for a holy cause and a holy conscience, when the Church of *England* was more glorious then at any time before; Even when she could shew more Martyrs and Confessors then any Church this day in Christendome, even then when a King died in the profession of her Religion, and thousands of Priests, learned and pious men suffered the spoiling of their goods rather then they would forsake one Article of so excellent a Religion; So that seriously it is not easily to be imagined that any thing should move you, unless it be that which troubled the perverse Jews, and the Heathen Greeks, *Scandalum crucis,*

*crucis*, the scandall of the Crosse; You stumbled at that Rock of offence, You left us because we were afflicted, lessened in outward circumstances and wrapped in a cloud; but give me leave only to reminde you of that sad saying of the Scripture, that you may avoid the consequent of it; *They that fall on this stone shall be broken in pieces, but they on whom it shall fall shall be grinded to powder.* And if we should consider things but prudently, it is a great argument that the sons of our Church are very conscientious and just in their perswasions, when it is evident, that we have no temporall end to serve, nothing but the great end of our souls, all our hopes of preferment are gone, all secular regards, only we still have truth on our sides, and we are not willing with the losse of truth to change from a persecuted to a prof-

prosperous Church, from a Reformed to a Church that will not be reformed; lest we give scandal to good people that suffer for a holy conscience, and weaken the hands of the afflicted; of which if you had been more carefull you would have remained much more innocent.

But I pray, give me leave to consider for you, because you in your change considered so little for your self, what fault, what false doctrine, what wicked or dangerous proposition, what defect, what amiss did you finde in the Doctrine and Liturgy and Discipline of the Church of England?

*For its doctrine,* It is certain it professes the belief of all that is written in the Old and New Testament, all that which is in the three Creeds, the Apostolical, the Nicene,

Nicene, and that of *Athanasius*, and whatsoever was decreed in the four General Councils, or many other truly such, and whatsoever was condemned in these, our Church hath legally declared it to be Heresie. And upon these accounts above four whole ages of the Church went to Heaven; they baptized all their Catechumens into this faith, their hopes of heaven was upon this and a good life, their Saints and Martyrs lived and died in this alone, they denied Communion to none that professed this faith. This is the Catholick faith, so faith the Creed of *Athanasius*; and unless a company of men have power to alter the faith of God, whosoever live and die in this faith, are intirely *Catholick* and *Christian*. So that the Church of *England* hath the same faith without dispute that the Church,



Church had for 400 or 500 years, and therefore there could be nothing wanting here to saving faith, if we live according to our beleeve.

2. For the Liturgy of the Church of England, I shall not need to say much, because the case will be very evident; First, Because the disputers of the Church of Rome have not been very forward to object any thing against it, they cannot charge it with any evil: 2. Because for all the time of K. *Edw. 6.* and till the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Q. *Elizabeth*, your people came to our Churches and prayed with us till the Bull of *Pius Quintus* came out upon temporal regards, and made a Schism by forbidding the Queens Subjects to pray as by Law was here appointed, though the prayers were good and holy, as themselves did beleeve. That Bull enjoined

joyned recusancy, and made that which was as an act of rebellion and disobedience, and schisme, to be the Character of your Roman Catholikes. And after this, what can be supposed wanting in order to salvation? We have the Word of God, the faith of the Apostles, the Creeds of the Primitive Church, the Articles of the four first generall Councils, a holy Liturgy, excellent prayers, perfect Sacraments, Faith and Repentance, the ten Commandements, and the Sermons of Christ, and all the precepts and counsels of the Gospel; We teach the necessity of good works, and require and strictly exact the severity of a holy life; We live in obedience to God, and are ready to die for him, and do so when he requires us so to do; We speak honour of his most holy Name, we worship him at the  
men-

mention of his Name, we confess his Attributes, we love his Servants, we pray for all men, we love all Christians, even our most erring Brethren, we confess our sinnes to God and to our Brethren whom we have offended, and to Gods Ministers in cases of scandall, or of a troubled Conscience, We communicate often, We are enjoyned to receive the holy Sacrament thrice every year at least; Our Priests absolve the penitent, our Bishops ordain Priests and confirm baptized persons, and blesse their people and intercede for them; and what could here be wanting to Salvation? what necessity forced you from us? I dare not suspect it was a temporal regard that drew you away, but I am sure it could be no spirituall.

But now that I have told you, and made you to consider from whence

whence you went, give me leave to represent to you, and tell you whither you are gone, that you may understand the nature and conditions of your change : For do not think your self safe, because they tell you that you are come to the Church ; You are indeed gone from one Church to another, from a better to a worse, as will appear in the induction, the particular of which before I reckon, give me leave to give you this advice ; if you mean in this affair to understand what you do ; it were better you enquired what your Religion is, then what your Church is ; for that which is a true Religion to day, will be so to morrow and for ever ; but that which is a holy Church to day, may be heretical at the next change, or may betray her trust, or obtrude new Articles in contradiction to the old, or by  
new

new interpretations may elude ancient truths, or may change your Creed, or may pretend to be the Spouse of Christ when she is idolatrous, that is, adulterous to God : Your Religion is that which you must, and therefore may competently understand ; You must live in it, and grow in it, and govern all the actions of your life by it ; and in all questions concerning the Church you are to choole your Church by the Religion, and therefore this ought first and last to be enquired after. Whether the Roman Church be the Catholique Church, must depend upon so many uncertain enquiries, is offered to be proved by so long, so tedious a method, hath in it so many intrigues and Labyrinths of Question, and is (like a long line) so impossible to be perfectly strait, and to have no declination in it when

when it is held by such a hand as yours, that unless it be by material enquiries into the Articles of the Religion, you can never hope to have just grounds of confidence. In the mean time you can consider this; if the Romane Church were the Catholike, that is, so as to exclude all that are not of her communion, then the Greek Churches had as good turn Turks as remain damned Christians, and all that are in the communion of all the other Patriarchal Churches in Christendome, must also perish like Heathens, which thing before any man can beleeve, he must have put off all reason, and all modesty, and all charity; And who can with any probability think that *the Communion of Saints* in the Creed is nothing but the *Communion of Roman Subjects*, and the Article of the Catholike Church was made to  
dispark

dispark the inclosures of *Jerusalem*, but to turn them into the pale of *Rome*, and the Church is as limited as ever it was, save only that the Synagogue is translated to *Rome*, which I think you will easily beleeve was a Proposition the Apostles understood not. But though it be hard to trust to it, it is also so hard to prove it, that you shall never be able to understand the measures of that question, and therefore your salvation can never depend upon it. For no good or wise person can beleeve that God hath tied our Salvation to impossible measures, or bound us to an Article that is not by us cognoscible, or intends to have us conducted by that which we cannot understand, and when you shall know that Learned men, even of the *Romane* party are not agreed concerning the *Catholike Church* that is infal-

infallibly to guide you, some say-  
 ing that it is the virtual Church,  
 that is, the Pope; some, that it is  
 the representative Church, that is,  
 a Council; Some, that it is the  
 Pope and the Council, the virtual  
 Church and the representative  
 Church together; Some, that nei-  
 ther of these, nor both together are  
 infallible; but only, the essential  
 Church, or the diffusive Church is  
 the Catholique, from whom we  
 must at no hand dissent; you will  
 quickly finde your self in a  
 Wood, and uncertain whether you  
 have more then a word in exchange  
 for your soul, when you are told  
 you are in the Catholike Church.  
 But I will tell you what you may  
 understand, and see, and feel,  
 something that your self can tell  
 whether I say true or no concerning  
 it. You are now gone to a Church  
 that protects itself by arts of sub-  
 tlety



tlety and arms, by violence and persecuting all that are not of their mindes, to a Church in which you are to be a Subject of the King so long as it pleases the Pope: In which you may be absolved from your Vows made to God, your Oaths to the King, your promises to men, your duty to your Parents in some cases: a Church in which men pray to God and to Saints in the same Form of words in which they pray to God, as you may see in the Offices of Saints, and particularly of our Lady: a Church in which men are taught by most of the principal Leaders to worship Images with the same worship with which they worship God and Christ, or him or her whose Image it is, and in which they usually picture God the Father, and the holy Trinity, to the great dishonour of that sacred my-

mystery, against the doctrine and practise of the Primitive Church, against the expresse doctrine of Scripture, against the honour of a divine attribute; I mean, the immensity and spirituality of the divine Nature; You are gone to a Church that pretends to be infallible, and yet is infinitely deceived in many particulars, and yet endures no contradiction, and is impatient her children should enquire into any thing her Priests obtrude. You are gone from receiving the whole Sacrament to receive it but half; from Christs Institution to a humane invention, from Scripture to uncertain Traditions, and from ancient Tradition to new pretences, from prayers which ye understood to prayers which ye understand not, from confidence in God to rely upon creatures, from intire dependance upon

upon inward acts to a dangerous temptation of resting too much in outward ministeries, in the external work of Sacraments and of Sacramentals: You are gone from a Church whose worshipping is simple, Christian and Apostolical, to a Church where mens consciences are loaden with a burthen of Ceremonies greater then that in the dayes of the Jewish Religion (for the Ceremonial of the Church of *Rome* is a great Book in Folio) greater I say then all the Ceremonies of the Jews contained in *Leviticus*, &c. You are gone from a Church where you were exhorted to reade the Word of God, the holy Scriptures from whence you found instruction, institution, comfort, reproof, a treasure of all excellencies, to a Church that seals up that fountain from you, and gives you drink by drops out of

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such Cisterns as they first make, and then stain, and then reach out: and if it be told you that some men abuse Scripture, it is true, for if your Priests had not abused Scripture, they could not thus have abused you, but there is no necessity they should, and you need not, unless you list; any more then you need to abuse the Sacraments or decrees of the Church, or the messages of your friend, or the Letters you receive, or the Laws of the Land, all which are liable to be abused by evil persons, but not by good people and modest understandings. It is now become a part of your Religion to be ignorant, to walk in blindness, to believe the man that hears your Confessions, to hear none but him, not to hear God speaking but by him, and so you are liable to be abused by him, as he please, without remedy.

medy. You are gone from us, where you were only taught to worship God through Jesus Christ, and now you are taught to worship Saints and Angels with a worship at least dangerous, and in some things proper to God; for your Church worships the Virgin *Mary* with burning incense and candles to her, and you give her presents, which by the consent of all Nations used to be esteemed a worship peculiar to God, and it is the same thing which was condemned for Heresie in the *Collyridians*, who offered a Cake to the Virgin *Mary*: A Candle and a Cake make no difference in the worship; and your joyning God and the Saints in your worship and devotions, is like the device of them that fought for King and Parliament, the latter destroys the former: I will trouble you with no

more particulars, because if these move you not to consider better, nothing can.

But yet I have two things more to adde of another nature, one of which at least may prevail upon you, whom I suppose to have a tender and a religious Conscience.

The first is, That all the points of difference between us and your Church are such as do evidently serve the ends of covetousness and ambition, of power and riches, and so stand vehemently suspected of design, and art, rather than truth of the Article and designs upon Heaven. I instance in the Popes power over Princes and all the world; his power of dispensation, The exemption of the Clergy from jurisdiction of Princes, The doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences which was once made means  
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to raise a portion for a Lady, the Neece of Pope *Leo* the tenth; The Priests power advanced beyond authority of any warrant from Scripture, a doctrine apt to bring absolute obedience to the Papacy; but because this is possibly too nice for you to suspect or consider, that which I am sure ought to move you is this.

That you are gone to a Religion in which though through Gods grace prevailing over the follies of men, there are I hope, and charitably suppose many pious men that love God, and live good lives, yet there are very many doctrines taught by your men, which are very ill Friends to a good life. I instance in your Indulgences and pardons, In which vitious men put a great confidence, and rely greatly upon them. The doctrine of Purgatory which gives countenance

nance to a sort of Christians who live half to God and half to the world, and for them this doctrine hath found out a way that they may go to Hell and to Heaven too. The Doctrine that the Priests absolution can turn a trifling repentance into a perfect and a good, and that suddenly too, and at any time, even on our death-bed, or the minute before your death, is a dangerous heap of falsehoods, and gives licence to wicked people, and teaches men to reconcile a wicked debauched life, with the hopes of Heaven. And then for penances and temporal satisfaction, which might seem to be as a plank after the shipwrack of the duty of Repentance, to keep men in awe, and to preserve them from sinking in an Ocean of Impiety, it comes to just nothing by your doctrine; for there are so many easie waies  
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of Indulgences and getting pardons, so many con-fraternities, stations, priviledg'd Altars, little Offices, *Agnus Dei's*, amulets, hallowed devices, swords, roses, hats, Churchyards, and the fountain of these annexed indulgences the Pope himself, and his power of granting what, and when, and to whom he list, that he is a very unfortunate man that needs to smart with penances; and after all, he may choose to suffer any at all, for he may pay them in Purgatory if he please, and he may come out of Purgatory upon reasonable terms, in case he should think it fit to go thither; So that all the whole duty of *Repentance* seems to be destroyed with devices of men that seek power and gain, and finde error and folly; insomuch that if I had a mind to live an evil Life, and yet hope for Heaven at

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last,

last, I would be of your religion above any in the world.

But I forget I am writing a Letter : I shall therefore desire you to consider upon the premises, which is the safer way. For surely it is lawful for a man to serve God without Images ; but that to worship Images is lawful is not so sure. It is Lawful to pray to God alone, to confess him to be true and every man a Liar, to call no man Master upon Earth, but to rely upon God teaching us ; But it is at least hugely disputable and not at all certain that any man, or society of men can be infallible, that we may put our trust in Saints, in certain extraordinary Images, or burne incense and offer consumptive oblations to the Virgin *Mary*, or make vows to persons of whose state or place or Capacities, or Condition we have no certain revelation : we are sure  
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we do well when in the holy Communion we worship God and Jesus Christ our Saviour, but they who also worship what seems to be bread, are put to strange shifts to make themselves believe it to be Lawful. It is certainly Lawful to believe what we see and feel; but it is an unnatural thing upon pretence of faith to disbelieve our eyes, when our sense and our faith can better be reconciled, as it is in the question of the real presence, as it is taught by the Church of *England*.

So that unless you mean to prefer a danger before safety, temptation to unholiness before a severe and a holy religion, unless you mean to lose the Benefit of your prayers by praying what you perceive not, and the Benefit of the sacrament in great degrees by falling from Christs Institution,

and taking halfe instead of all ; unless you desire to provoke God to jealousie by Images and Man to jealousie in professing a religion in which you may in many cases have leave to forfeit your faith and lawful trust, unless you will still continue to give scandal to those good people with whom you have lived in a common religion and weaken the hearts of Gods afflicted ones, unless you will choose a Catechism without the second Commandment and a faith that grows bigger or less as men please, and a hope that in many degrees relies on men and vain confidences, and a Charity that damns all the world but your selves, unless you will do all this, that is, suffer an abuse in your prayers, in the Sacrament, in the Commandments, in faith, in hope, in Charity, in the Communion of saints, and your duty to  
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your supreme, you must return to the bosome of your Mother the Church of *England* from whence you have fallen, rather weakly then maliciously, and I doubt not but you will find the Comfort of it all your Life, and in the Day of your Death, and in the day of Judgment. If you will not, yet I have freed mine own soul, and done an act of duty and Charity, which at least you are bound to take kindly if you will not entertain it obediently.

Now let me adde this, that although most of these objections are such things which are the open and avowed doctrines or practises of your Church; and need not to be proved as being either notorious or confessed; yet if any of your Guides shall seem to question any thing of it, I will bind my selfe to verify it, to a tittle and in that sense

lense too which I intend them, that is, so as to be an objection obliging you to return, under the pain of folly or heresy, or disobedience according to the subject matter. And though I have propounded these things now to your consideration, yet if it be desired I shall represent them to your eye, so that even your self shall be able to give sentence in the behalfe of truth. In the mean time give me leave to tell you of how much folly you are guilty in being moved by such mock-arguments as your men use when they meet with women and tender consciences and weaker understandings.

The first is ; where was your Church before *Luther* ? Now if you had called upon them to speak something against your religion from Scripture, or right reason or Universal Tradition, you had been  
secure

secure as a Tortoise in her shell ; a cart pressed with sheavs could not have oppressed your cause or person ; though you had confessed you understood nothing of the mysteries of succession doctrinal or personal. For if we can make it appear that our religion was that which Christ and his Apostles taught, let the truth suffer what eclipses or prejudices can be supposed, let it be hid like the holy fire in the captivity, yet what Christ and his Apostles taught us is eternally true, and shall by some means or other be conveyed to us ; even the enemies of truth have been conservators of that truth by which we can confute their errors. But if you still aske where it was before *Luther* ? I answer it was there where it was after ; even in the Scriptures of the Old & New Testament ; and I know no warrant for any other  
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religion ; and if you will expect I should shew any society of men who professed all the doctrines which are now expressed in the confession of the Church of *England* ; I shall tell you it is unreasonable ; because some of our truths are now brought into our publick confessions that they might be oppos'd against your errors ; before the occasion of which there was no need of any such confessions, till you made many things necessary to be professed, which are not lawful to be believed. For if we believe your superinduc'd follies we shall do unreasonably ; unconscionably, and wickedly ; but the questions themselves are so useless abstracting from the accidental necessity which your follies have brought upon us, that it had been happy if we had never heard of them more than the Saints and Martyrs did in  
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the first ages of the Church; but because your Clergy have invaded the liberty of the Church, and multiplied the dangers of damnation, and pretend new necessities, and have introduc'd new articles, and affright the simple upon new pretensions, and slight the very institution and the Commands of Christ and of the Apostles, and invent new sacramentals constituting ceremonies of their own head, and promise grace along with the use of them, as if they were not Ministers but Lords of the Spirit, and teach for doctrines the Commandments of men, and make void the Commandment of God by their tradition, and have made a strange body of Divinity, therefore it is necessary that we should immure our faith by the refusal of such vain and superstitious dreams: but our faith was compleated at first, it is no other

ther then that which was delivered to the saints, and can be no more for ever.

So that it is a foolish demand to require that we should shew before *Luther* a systeme of Articles declaring our sense in these questions: It was long before they were questions at all; and when they were made questions, they remained so, a long time, and when by their several pieces they were determined, this part of the Church was oppressed with a violent power; and when God gave opportunity then the yoke was broken; and this is the whole progress of this affair. But if you will still insist upon it; then let the matter be put into equal ballances, and let them shew any Church whose confession of faith was such as was obtruded upon you at *Trent*: and if your religion be *Pius quartus* his Creed

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at *Trent*, then we also have a question to aske, and that is, *where was your religion before Trent?*

The Council of *Trent* determined that the souls departed before the day of judgement enjoy the beatifical vision. It is certain this Article could not be shown in the confession of any of the antient Churches; for most of the Fathers were of another opinion. But that which is the greatest offence of Christendom is not only that these doctrines which we say are false were yet affirmed, but that those things which the Church of God did alwayes reject, or held as Uncertain should be made Articles of faith; and so become parts of your religion; and of these it is that I again aske the question which none of your side shall ever be able to answer for you, where was your religion before *Trent*? I could instance

stance in many particulars; but I shall name one to you which because the thing of it selfe is of no great consequence, it will appear the more unreasonable and intolerable that your Church should adopt it into the things of necessary belief, especially since it was only a matter of fact, and they took the false part too. For in the 21. Session, the fourth Chapter it is affirmed, that *although the holy Fathers did give the Sacrament of the Eucharist to Infants, yet they did it without any necessity of salvation*; that is, they did not believe it necessary to their salvation, which is notoriously false, and the contrary is marked out with the black-lead of every man almost that reads their works; and yet your Councel sayes this is *sine controversiâ credendum*; to be believed without all controversie: and all Christians forbidden to believe

lieve or teach otherwise. So that here it is made an Article of faith amongst you that a man shall neither believe his reason nor his eyes: and who can shew any confession of faith in which all the *Trent* doctrine was professed and enjoyn-  
De potest. Eccles. conf. 12. ed under pain of damnation? and before the Council of *Constance*, the doctrine touching the Popes power was so new, so decried, that as *Gerson* says he hardly should have escaped the note of heresy that would have said so much as was there defined: so that in that Article which now makes a great part of your belief, where was your religion before the Council of *Constance*? and it is notorious that your Council of *Constance* determined the doctrine of the halfe communion with a *Non obstante* to Christs institution, that is, with a defiance to it, or a noted, ob-

observed neglect of it, and with a profession it was otherwise in the primitive Church. Where then was your religion before *John Hus* and *Hierom* of *Pragues* time; against whom that Council was convened? But by this instance it appears most certainly that your Church cannot shew her confessions immediately after Christ, and therefore if we could not shew ours immediately before *Luther*, it were not halfe so much; for since you receded from Christs Doctrine, we might well recede from yours; and it matters not who or how many or how long they professed your doctrine, if neither Christ nor his Apostles did teach it; so that if these Articles constitute your Church, your Church was invisible at the first, and if ours was invisible afterwards it matters not; For yours was invisible

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*in the dayes of light, and ours was invisible in the dayes of darkness.* For our Church was alwayes visible in the reflections of Scripture, and he that had his eyes of faith & reason might easily have seen these truths all the way which constitute our Church. But I adde yet further, that our Church before *Luther* was there where your Church was, in the same place and in the same persons; for divers of the errors which have been amongst us reformed, were not the constituent Articles of your Church before *Luthers* time; for before the last Councils of your Church a man might have been of your Communion upon easier terms; & indulgences were indeed a practise but no Article of faith before your men made it so, and that very lately, and so were many other things besides. So that although your men

men cosen the credulous and the simple by calling yours the old religion, yet the difference is vast between truth and their affirmative even as much as between old errors and new Articles. For although ignorance and superstition had prepared the oare, yet the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, and *Trent* especially, were the forges and the mint.

Lastly, if your men had not by all the vile and violent arts of the world stopped the mouths of dissenters, the question would quickly have been answered, or our Articles would have been so confessed, so owned and so publick, that the question could never have been asked; but in despite of all opposition, there were great numbers of confessors who did protest and profess and practise our doctrines contrary to your Articles; as it is de-



demonstrated by the Divines of Germany in *Illyricus* his *Catalogus testimonium veritatis*, and in Bp. *Mortons* appeal.

But with your next objection you are better pleased and your men make most noise with it. For you pretend that by our confession salvation may be had in your Church; but your men deny it to us; and therefore by the confession of both sides you may be safe, and there is no question concerning you; but of us there is great question, for none but our selves say that we can be saved.

I answer; 1. That salvation may be had in your Church, is it ever the truer because we say it? If it be not, it can adde no confidence to you, for the proposition gets no strength by our affirmative. But if it be, then our authority is good or else our reason; and if either

either be, then we have more reason to be believed speaking of our selves; because we are concerned to see that our selves may be in a state of hope; and therefore we would not venture on this side if we had not greater reason to believe well of our selves then of you. And therefore believe us when it is more likely that we have greater reason, because we have greater concernments, and therefore greater consideration.

2. As much charity as your men pretend us to speak of you, yet it is a clear case our hopes of your salvation is so little that we dare not venture our selves on your side. The Burger of *Oldwater* being to pass a river in his journey to *Daven-*  
*try*, bad his man try the ford; telling him he hoped he should not be drowned for though he was afraid the River was too deep yet he

he thought his horse would carry him out, or at least, the boats would fetch him off. Such a confidence we may have of you, but you will find that but little warranty, if you remember how great an interest it is that you venture.

3. It would be remembered that though the best ground of your hope is not the goodness of your own faith, but the greatness of our charity; yet we that charitably hope well of you, have a fulness of assurance of the truth and certainty of our own way; and however you can please your selves with Images of things as having no firm footing for your trifling confidence, yet you can never with your tricks outface us of just and firme adherencies; and if you were not empty of supports, and greedy of bulrushes snatching at any thing to support your sinking cause, you

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would

would with fear and trembling consider the direct dangers which we demonstrate to you to be in your religion rather than flatter your selves with collateral, weak, and deceitful hopes of accidental possibilities, that some of you may escape.

4. If we be more charitable to you then you are to us, acknowledge in us the beauty and essential form of Christian Religion; be sure you love as well as make use of our charity; but if you make our charity an argument against us, remember that you render us evil in exchange for good; and let it be no brag to you that you have not that charity to us; for therefore the Donatists were condemned for Hereticks and Schismaticks because they damn'd all the world, and afforded no charity to any that was not of their Communion.

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5. But

5. But that our charity may be such indeed, that is, that it may do you a real benefit, and not turn into Wormwood and Colliquintida, I pray take notice in what sense it is that we allow salvation may possibly be had in your Church. We warrant it not to any, we only hope it for some, we allow it to them as to the Sadduces in the Law, and to the Corinthians in the Gospel who denied the resurrection; that is, till they were sufficiently instructed, and competently convinced, and had time and powers to out-wear their prejudices and the impresses of their education and long persuasion. But to them amongst you who can and do consider and yet determine for error and interest, we have a greater charity, even so much as to labour and pray for their conversion, but not so much

fondness as to flatter them into boldness and pertinacious adherencies to matters of so great danger.

6. But in all this affair though your men are very bold with God and leap into his judgment-seat before him, and give wild sentences concerning the salvation of your own party and the damnation of all that disagree, yet that which is our charity to you, is indeed the fear of God, and the reverence of his judgments ; we do not say that all Papists are certainly damn'd ; we wish and desire vehemently that none of you may perish ; but then this charity of judgment relates not to you, or is derived from any probability which we see in your doctrines that differ from ours ; but because we know not what rate and value God puts upon the article ; It concerns neither you nor us to say, this or that

that man shall be damn'd for his opinion; for besides that this is a bold intrusion into that secret of God which shall not be opened till the day of judgement; and besides that we know not what allayes and abatements are to be made by the good meaning and the ignorance of the man; all that can concern us is to tell you that you are in error, that you depart from Scripture, that you exercise tyranny over souls, that you leave the Divine institution; and prevaricate Gods Commandment, that you divide the Church without truth and without necessity, that you tie men to believe things under pain of damnation which cannot be made very probable much less certain; and therefore that you sin against God and are in danger of his eternal displeasure; but in giving the final sen-

tence as we have no more to do then your men have, yet so we refuse to follow your evil example; and we follow the glorious precedent of our Blessed Lord; who decreed and declared against the crime, but not against the Criminal before the day. He that does this, or that, is in danger of the Council, or in danger of judgment, or liable and obnoxious to the danger of hell fire; so we say of your greatest errors; they put you in the danger of perishing; but that you shall or shall not perish, we leave it to your Judge, and if you call this charity, it is well, I am sure it is piety and the fear of God.

7. Whether you may be saved, or whether you shall be damned for your errors, does neither depend upon our affirmative nor your negative, but according to the  
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rate and value which God sets upon things. Whatever we talke, things are as they are, not as we dispute, or grant, or hope; and therefore it were well if your men would leave abusing you & themselves with these litle arts of indirect support. For many men that are warranted, yet do eternally perish, and you in your Church damne millions who I doubt not shall reign with Jesus eternally in the Heavens.

8. I wish you would consider, that if any of our men say salvation may be had in your Church, it is not for the goodness of your new propositions, but only because you do keep so much of that which is our Religion, that upon the confidence of that we hope well concerning you. And we do not hope any thing at all that is good of you or your Religion as it distinguishes

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from us and ours: we hope that the good which you have common with us may obtain pardon directly or indirectly, or may be an antidote of the venome, and an amulet against the danger of your very great errors, so that if you can derive any confidence from our concession, you must remember where it takes root; not upon any thing of yours, but wholly upon the excellency of ours; you are not at all safe, or warranted for being Papists, but we hope well of some of you, for having so much of the Protestant: and if that will do you any good, proceed in it, and follow it whithersoever it leads you.

9. The safety that you dream of which we say to be on your side is nothing of allowance, or warranty, but a hope that is collateral, indirect and relative; we do not say any thing whereby you can  
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conclude yours to be safer then ours, for it is not safe at all, but extremely dangerous; we affirm those errors in themselves to be damnable, some to contain in them impiety, some to have sacrilege, some idolatry, some superstition, some practises to be conjuring and charming and very like to witchcraft, as in your hallowing of water and baptizing bells and exorcizing demoniacs; and what safety there can be in these, or what you can fancy we should allow to you, I suppose you need not boast of. Now because we hope some are saved amongst you, you must not conclude yours to be safe; for our hope relies upon this. There are many of your propositions in which we differ from you, that thousands amongst you understand and know nothing of, it is to them as if they were not, it is to them

now as it was before the council, they hear not of it. And though your Priests have taken a course that the most ignorant do practise some of your abominations most grossely, yet we hope this will not be laid upon them who (as S. *Austin's* expression is) *cautâ sollicitudine quarunt veritatem, corrigi parati cum inuenerint*: do according as they are able warily and diligently seek for truth, and are ready to swallow, it when they finde it; men who live good lives, and repent of all their evils known and unknown. Now if we are not deceived in our hopes, these men shall rejoyce in the eternal goodness of God which prevails over the malice of them that misguide you; but if we be deceived in our hopes of you, your guides have abus'd you, and the blind leaders of the blind will fall together. For,

10. If

10. If you will have the secret of this whole affair, this it is. The hopes we have of any of you, (as it is known) principally relies upon the hopes of your repentance. Now we say that a man may repent of an error which he knows not of; as he that prays heartily for the pardon of all his sins and errors known and unknown; by his general repentance may obtain many degrees & instances of mercy. Now thus much also your men allow to us; these who live well, and die in a true though but general repentance of their sins and errors even amongst us your best & wisest men pronounce to be in a saveable condition. Here then we are equal, and we are as safe by your confession as you are by ours. But because there are some Bigots of your faction fierce and fiery who say that a general  
repent-

repentance will not serve our turns, but it must be a particular renunciation of Protestancy; these men deny not only to us but to themselves too, all that comfort which they derive from our Concession, and indeed which they can hope for from the mercies of God. For be you sure we think as ill of your errors as you can suppose of our Articles; and therefore if for errors (be they on which side it chances) a general repentance will not serve the turn without an actual dereliction, then flatter not yourselves by any thing of our kindness to your party; for you must have a particular if a general be not sufficient. But if it be sufficient for you, it is so for us, in case we be in error as your men suppose us; but if it will not suffice us for remedy to those errors you charge us with, neither will it suffice you; for  
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the case must needs be equall as to the value of repentance and the malignity of the error : and therefore these men condemn themselves and will not allow us to hope well of them, but if they will allow us to hope, it must be by affirming the value of a general repentance ; and if they allow that, they must hope as well of ours as we of theirs : but if they deny it to us, they deny it to themselves, and then they can no more brag of any thing of our concession. This only I adde to this consideration ; that your men doe not, cannot charge upon us any doctrine that is in its matter and effect impious, there is nothing positive in our doctrine, but is either true or innocent, but we are accus'd for denying your superstructures : ours therefore (if we be deceived ) is but like a sin of omissi-

omission; yours are sins of commission in case you are in the wrong (as we believe you to be) & therefore you must needs be in the greater danger then we can be supposed, by how much sins of omission are less then sins of commission.

11. Your very way of arguing from our charity is a very fallacy and a trick that must needs deceive you if you rely upon it. For whereas your men argue thus. The Protestants say we Papists may be saved; and so say we too: but we Papists say that you Protestants cannot, therefore it is safest to be a Papist; consider that of this argument if it shall be accepted, any bold heretick can make use, against any modest Christian of a true perswasion. For, if he can but out-face the modesty of the good man, and tell him he shall be



be damn'd ; unless that modest man say as much of him, you see impudence shall get the better of the day. But it is thus in every error. Fifteen Bishops of *Jerusalem* in immediate succession were circumcised, believing it to be necessary so to be : with these other Christian Churches who were of the uncircumcision did communicate : Suppose now that these Bishops had not onely thought it necessary for themselves but for others too ; this argument you see was ready : you of the **Uncircumcision** who do communicate with us, think that we may be saved though we are circumcised, but we do not think that you who are not circumcised can be saved, therefore it is the safest way to be circumcised : I suppose you would not have thought their argument good, neither would you have had  
your

your children circumcised. But this argument may serve the Presbyterians as well as the Papists. We are indeed very kinde to them in our sentences concerning their salvation; and they are many of them as unkind to us; If they should argue so as you do; and say, you Episcopal men think we Presbyterians though in errors can be saved, and we say so too: but we think you Episcopal men are Enemies of the Kingdome of Jesus Christ; and therefore we think you in a damnable condition, therefore it is safer to be a Presbyterian; I know not what your men would think of the argument in their hands, I am sure we had reason to complain that we are used very ill on both hands for no other cause but because we are charitable. But it is not our case alone; but the old Catholicks were used

used just so by the Donatists in this very argument, as we are used by your men. The Donatists were so fierce against the Catholicks, that they would rebaptize all them who came to their Churches from the other: But the Catholicks, as knowing the Donatists did give right baptisme, admitted their converts to repentance, but did not rebaptize them. Upon this score, the Donatists triumphed, saying; you Catholicks confess our Baptism to be good, and so say we: But we Donatists deny your Baptism to be good; therefore it is safer to be of our side then yours. Now what should the Catholicks say or do? should they lie for God and for religion, and to serve the ends of truth say the Donatists baptism was not good? That they ought not. Should they damne all the Donatists, and make the  
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rent wider? It was too great already. What then? They were quiet and knew that the Donatists sought advantages by their own fierceness, and trampled upon the others charity; but so they hardened themselves in error, and became evill, because the others were good.

I shall trouble you no further now, but desire you to consider of these things with as much caution, as they were written with charity.

Till I hear from you, I shall pray to God to open your heart and your understanding, that you may return from whence you are fallen, and repent, and do your first work, which that you may do, is the hearty desire of

Your very affectionate  
Friend and Servant,

*John* Aylor.

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*The Second Letter :  
Written to a Person  
newly converted to the  
Church of England.*

Madam,

**I** Bless God I am safely arrived where I desired to be after my unwilling departure from the place of your abode and danger, and now because I can have no other expression of my tenderness, I account that I have a treble Obligation to signifie it by my care of your biggest and eternal interest. And because it hath pleased God to make me an Instrument of making you to understand

stand in some fair measure the excellencies of a true and holy Religion, and that I have pointed out such follies and errours in the Romane Church, at which your understanding being forward and pregnant, did of it self start as at imperfect ill-looking Propositions, give me leave to do that now which is the purpose of my Charity, that is, teach you to turn this to the advantage of a holy life, that you may not only be changed but converted. For the Church of *England* whither you are now come is not in condition to boast her self in the reputation of changing the opinion of a single person, though never so excellent; She hath no temporal ends to serve which must stand upon fame and noises; all that she can design, is to serve God, to advance the honour of her Lord, and the good  
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of souls, and to rejoyce in the Cross of Christ.

First, Therefore I desire you to remember that as now you are taught to pray both publikely and privately, in a Language understood, so it is intended your affections should be forward, in proportion to the advantages which your prayer hath in the understanding part. For though you have been often told and have heard, that ignorance is the Mother of devotion, you will finde that the proposition is unnatural and against common sense and experience; because it is impossible to desire that of which we know nothing, unless the desire it self be fantastickall and illusive: it is necessary that in the same proportion in which we understand any good thing, in the same we shall also desire it, and the more particular

cular and minute your notices are, the more passionate and materiall also your affections will be towards it, and if they be good things for which we are taught to pray, the more you know them the more reason you have to love them; It is monstrous to think that devotion, that is, passionate desires of religious things, and the earnest prosecutions of them should be produced by any thing of ignorance or less perfect notices in any sence. Since therefore you are taught to pray, so that your understanding is the præcentor or the Master of the Quire, and you know what you say; your desires are made humane, religious, express, material (for these are the advantages of prayers and Liturgies well understood) be pleased also to remember, that now if you be not also passionate and devout for



for the things you mention, you will want the Spirit of prayer, and be more inexcusable then before. In many of your prayers before ( especially the publique ) you heard a voice but saw and perceived nothing of the sence, and what you understood of it was like the man in the Gospel that was half blinde, he saw men walking like Trees, and so you possibly might perceive the meaning of it in generall ; You knew when they came to the Epistle, when to the Gospel, when the Introit, when the *Pax*, when any of the other more generall periods were ; but you could have nothing of the Spirit of prayer, that is, nothing of the devotion and the holy affections to the particular excellencies which could or ought there to have been represented ; but now you are taught how you may be really devout, it is

is made facil and easie, and there can want nothing but your consent and observation.

2. Whereas now you are taken off from all humane confidences, from relying wholly and almost ultimately upon the Priests power and external act, from reckoning prayers by numbers, from forms and out-sides, you are not to think that the Priests power is less, that the Sacraments are not effective, that your prayers may not be repeated frequently; but you are to remember, that all outward things and Ceremonies, all Sacraments and Institutions work their effect in the vertue of Christ, by some morall Instrument; The Priests in the Church of *England* can absolve you as much as the Romane Priests could fairly pretend; but then we teach that you must first be a penitent and a returning

ning person, and our absolution does but manifest the work of God, and comfort and instruct your Conscience, direct and manage it; You shall be absolved here, but not unless you live a holy life; So that in this you will finde no change but to the advantage of a strict life; we will not flatter you and cozen your dear soul by pretended ministeries; but we so order our discourses and directions that all our ministrations may be really effective, and when you receive the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, or the Lords Supper, it does more good here then they do there, because if they consecrate ritely, yet they do not communicate you fully; and if they offer the whole representative Sacrifice, yet they do not give you the whole Sacrament; ) only we enjoin that you come with so much holiness,  
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that the grace of God in your heart may be the principal, and the Sacrament in our hands may be the ministring and assisting part: we do not promise great effects to easie trifling dispositions, because we would not deceive, but really procure to you great effects; and therefore you are now to come to our offices with the same expectations as before, of pardon, of grace, of sanctification; but you must do something more of the work your self, that we may not do lesse in effect then you have in your expectation; We will not to advance the reputation of our power deceive you into a less blessing.

3. Be careful that you do not flatter your self, that in our Communion you may have more ease and liberty of life; for though I know your pious soule desires  
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passionately to please God and to live religiously, yet I ought to be careful to prevent a temptation, lest it at any time should discompose your severity: Therefore as to confession to a Priest (which how it is usually practised amongst the Romane party, your self can very well account, and you have complain'd sadly, that it is made an ordinary act, easie and transient, sometime matter of temptation, often times impertinent, but) suppose it free from such scandal to which some mens folly did betray it, yet the same severity you'l finde among us; for though we will not tell a lye to help a sinner, and say that is necessary which is only appointed to make men do themselves good, yet we advise and commend it, and do all the work of souls to all those people that will be saved by all means; to del-

your persons, that make Religion the business of their lives, and they that do not so in the Churches of the Roman Communion, as they finde but little advantage by periodical confessions, for they feel but little awfulness and severity by the injunction; you must confess to God all your secret actions, you must advise with a holy man in all the affairs of your soul, you will be but an ill friend to your self if you conceal from him the state of your spiritual affairs: We desire not to hear the circumstance of every sinne, but when matter of justice is concerned, or the nature of the sinne is changed, that is, when it ought to be made a Question; and you will finde that though the Church of *England* gives you much liberty from the bondage of innumerable Ceremonies and humane devices, yet  
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in the matter of holiness you will be tied to very great service, but such a service as is perfect freedom, that is, the service of God and the love of the holy Jesus, and a very strict religious life; for we do not promise heaven, but upon the same terms it is promised us, that is, *Repentance towards God and Faith in our Lord Jesus*: and as in faith we make no more to be necessary then what is made so in holy Scripture, so in the matter of Repentance we give you no easie devices, and suffer no lessening definitions of it, but oblige you to that strictness which is the condition of being saved, and so expressed to be by the infallible Word of God; but such as in the Church of *Rome* they do not so much stand upon.

Madam, I am weary of my Journey, and although I did purpose to have spoken many things

more, yet I desire that my not doing it may be laid upon the account of my weariness, all that I shall add to the main businese is this.

4. Reade the Scriptures diligently; and with an humble spirit, and in it observe what is plain, and beleeve and live accordingly. Trouble not your self with what is difficult; for in that your duty is not described.

5. Pray frequently and effectually; I had rather your prayers should be often then long. It was well said of *Petrarch*, *Magno Verborum freno uti decet cum superiore colloquentem*. When you speak to your superiour you ought to have a bridle upon your tongue, much more when you speak to God. I speak of what is decent in respect of our selves and our infinite distances from God: but if love makes you speak, speak on, so shall



shall your prayer be full of charity and devotion, *Nullus est amore superior, ille te coget ad veniam, qui me ad multiloquium*; Love makes God to be our friend, and our approaches more united and acceptable; and therefore you may say to God, *the same love which made me speak, will also move thee to hear and pardon*: Love and devotion may enlarge your Letanies, but nothing else can, unless Authority does interpose.

6. Be curious not to communicate but with the true Sonnes of the Church of *England*, lest if you follow them that were amongst us, but are gone out from us, because they were not of us ) you be offended and tempted to impute their follies to the Church of *England*.

7. Trouble your self with no controversies willingly, but how  
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you may best please God by a strict and severe conversation.

8. If any Protestant live loosely, remember that he dishonours an excellent Religion, and that it may be no more laid upon the charge of our Church, then the ill lives of most Christians may upon the whole Religion.

9. Let no man or woman affright you with declamations and scaring words of *Heretick*, and *Damnation*, and *Changeable*; for these words may be spoken against them that return to light, as well as to those that go to darkness, and that which men of all sides can say, it can be of effect to no side upon its own strength or pretension.

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